

Cur No 549-105-4511106

THE
CALCUTTA REVIEW

An Illustrated Monthly

Established 1844

THIRD SERIES

Volume XLVII

105

310.5
•003

APRIL—JUNE

1933



PUBLISHED BY

THE UNIVERSITY OF CALCUTTA

QRCV 187

<i>First Series</i>	...	...	1844
<i>New Series</i>	...	...	1913
<i>Third Series (Monthly)</i>	...	...	1921

GS 1456

THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

Volume XLVII; Numbers 1—3.

APRIL—JUNE, 1933

CONTENTS

Page

Convocation Address—Sir Hassan Suhrawardy, Kt., O.B.E., M.D., F.R.C.S.I., D.P.H., Vice-Chancellor, Calcutta University	1
A Goods Standard—B. Ramachandra Rau, M.A., Ph.D.	23
Thoughts on Progress—Prof. Benimadhab Barua, M.A., D.Litt.	35
Slave of Love (<i>Poem</i>)—Mohinimohan Chatterji, M.A., B.L.	44
The Allahabad Unity Conference—Krishnakumar Sharma, M.A.	45
Divine Immanence and Human Freedom—Prafullapran Changkakati	53
The Child Worker in India—P. P. Pillai	59
Some Aspects of Ibsen Study—B. K. Sinha	69
Social Life in Jaina Literature—Amulyachandra Sen, M.A.	79
A Reality of Oxford—Freda M. Moulston	95
To Faith (<i>Poem</i>)—N. N. Chandra	100
East and West—Meher Dalal	101
Western Influence on the Poetry of Rabindranath—Jayanta- kumar Dasgupta, M.A.	103

REVIEWS :

The Mahābhārata—P. C. C.	119
Rukmini Haran Nat—S. K. B.	119
Life and Teaching of Muhammad—Kokileswar Sastri	121
Sree Chaitanya and his Message of Devotion—Kokileswar Sastri	122
Viveka Chudāmani—Kokileswar Sastri	122

OURSELVES :

Kamala Lecturer for 1931	123
Sir Asutosh Mookerjee Prize and Anthropology	123
Dates for the next D. P. H. Examinations	123
Dates for the I.E. and B.E. Examinations	123
The Debendranath-Hemlata Gold Medal for 1932	124
A Letter from the President, Colorado School of Mines, Golden, Colorado	124
Students Welfare Committee Annual Report for 1931	128
A Protest	141

	Page.
His Excellency's Speech at the Convocation of the Calcutta University on 25th March, 1933 ...	143
Ode to Evening (<i>Poem</i>)—Louis M. Eilshemius ...	152
In Memory of Scott—Priyaranjan Sen, M.A. ...	153
Friar's Crag, Derwentwater (<i>Poem</i>)—J. Ralph Miller ...	172
A Study of the Manasa-cult and its Literary Expression—Janardan Chakrabarti, M.A. ...	173
To My Friend (<i>Poem</i>)—V. H. Pandit ...	186
The Concept of Svadharma in the Gitā—U. C. Bhattacharjee, M.A. ...	187
Poetry—P. M. Hari ...	196
Music and Numbers—Leland J. Berry, M.A. ...	197
The Outlook for American Political Radicalism—R. E. Wolseley ...	213
Studies in the Tantras—Prabhatchandra Chakravarty, M.A., Ph.D. ...	223
Reza Shah Pahlevi—Mohammad Ishaque, M.A., B.Sc. ...	240
The Realistic Analysis of Perception—Tatini Das, M.A....	247
REVIEWS :	
All My Youth—J. G. B. ...	257
Indian Problems—J. G. B. ...	257
Sir Walter Scott To-day—J. G. B. ...	262
Walls of Jericho—J. G. B. ...	264
Success in Business or Practical Business Hints—B. Ramachandra Rau ...	266
OURSELVES :	
The Late Mr. Hasan Imam ...	299
A New Ph.D. ...	269
University Readership Lecture ...	270
Three New M.D.'s ...	270
Ghosh Travelling Fellowships for 1933-34 ...	271
The Three Inter-University Boards, India ...	271
Some Synthetical Trends in Science—James H. Cousins ...	275
Pre-Buddhistic Hindu Shrines in Ceylon—Jagadiswarananda ...	285
Beyond Neptune (<i>Poem</i>)—David W. Cade ...	296
Is Spinoza a Riddle?—Govindachandra Deb Purkayastha, M.A. ...	297
The Genesis of Mir Qasim's War with the English—Nandalal Chatterji, M.A. ...	317
Gautama Buddha (<i>Poem</i>)—Wade Oliver ...	332
Early Experiments with Sinking Fund in India—P. Datta, M.A., D.Sc. ...	333
Merry-go-round in Winter (<i>Poem</i>)—Viola Irene Cooper ...	346
The Pathway to Perfection—Henry J. Baylis ...	347
Balloon Man (<i>Poem</i>)—Wade Oliver ...	354
Hindu Prostitution in Bengal—Mohinimohan Chatterji, M.A., B.L. ...	355

CONTENTS

	Page.
The Bugle Calls (<i>Poem</i>)—David W. Cade ...	360
John Gay—Frederick T. Wood ...	361
Song (<i>Poem</i>)—Bal Gurdyal Singh Wadalia ...	384.
Disarmament—V. H. Pandit ...	385
Comrades (<i>Poem</i>)—David W. Cade ...	390

REVIEWS :

Ronald Ross : Discoverer and Creator—J. G. B. ...	891
Monsieur Thiers—J. G. B. ...	893
Unemployment in India—B. Ramachandra Rao ...	396
Some Materials for the Study of Agriculture and Agriculturalists in Ancient India—B. Ramachandra Rao ...	398

OURSELVES :

Sir Asutosh Mookerjee: the 9th Death Anniversary ...	400
The Late Prof. Purna Chandra Sen ...	400
King George V Professor of Mental and Moral Philosophy ...	401
Result of the D. P. H. Examination ...	401
The Griffith Memorial Prize in Letters for the Year 1931 ...	402
A New Ph.D. ...	402
India Institute of the Deutsche Akademie ...	402
Competitive Examination for the Ministerial Service of the Government of India ...	403

List of Contributors and their Articles.

<i>Barua, Prof. Benimadhab, M.A., D.Lit.</i>	
Thoughts on Progress ...	35
<i>Baylis, Henry J.</i>	
The Pathway to Perfection ...	347
<i>Berry, Leland J., M.A.</i>	
Music and Numbers ...	197
<i>Bhattacharjee, U. C., M.A.</i>	
The Concept of Svadharma in Gita ...	187
<i>Cade, David W.</i>	
Beyond Neptune (<i>Poem</i>) ...	296
The Bugle Calls (<i>Poem</i>) ...	360
Comrades (<i>Poem</i>) ...	390
<i>Chakrabarty, Janardan, M.A.</i>	
The Study of the Manasa-cult and its Literary Expression ...	173
<i>Chakrabarty, Prabhatchandra, M.A., Ph.D.</i>	
Studies in the Tantras ...	223
<i>Chandra, N. N., M.A.</i>	
To Faith (<i>Poem</i>) ...	100
<i>Changkakati, Prafullapran.</i>	
Divine Immanence and Human Freedom ...	53
<i>Chatterjee, Nandalal, M.A.</i>	
The Genesis of Mir Qasim's War with the English ...	317
<i>Chatterjee, Mohini Mohan, M.A., B.L.</i>	
Slave of Love (<i>Poem</i>) ...	44
Hindu Prostitution in Bengal ...	355

	Page.
<i>Cooper, Viola Irene.</i>	
Merry-go-round in Winter (<i>Poem</i>)	... 346
• <i>Cousins, James H.</i>	
Some Synthetical Trends in Science	... 275
<i>Dalal, Meher. .</i>	
East and West	... 101
<i>Das, Tatini, M.A.</i>	
The Realistic Analysis of Perception	... 247
<i>Dasgupta, Jayantakumar, M.A.</i>	
Western Influence on the Poetry of Rabindranath	... 103
<i>Datta, P., M.A., D.Sc.</i>	
Early Experiments with Sinking Fund in India	... 333
<i>Deb Purkayastha, Govindachandra, M.A.</i>	
Is Spinoza a Riddle ?	... 297
<i>Eilshemius, Louis M.</i>	
Ode to Evening (<i>Poem</i>)	... 152
<i>Hari, P. M.</i>	
Poetry	... 196
<i>Ishaque, Mohammad, M.A., B.Sc.</i>	
Reza Shah Pahlevi	.. 240
<i>Jagadiswarananda.</i>	
Pre-Buddhistic Hindu Shrines in Ceylon	... 285
<i>Miller, J. Ralph.</i>	
Friar's Crag, Derwentwater (<i>Poem</i>)	... 172
<i>Moulstan, Freda M.</i>	
A Reality of Oxford	... 95
<i>Oliver Wade</i>	
Gautama Buddha (<i>Poem</i>)	... 332
<i>Pandit, V. H.</i>	
To My Friend (<i>Poem</i>)	... 186
Disarmament	... 385
<i>Rau, B. Ramachandra, M.A., Ph.D.</i>	
A Goods Standard	... 23
<i>Sen, Amulyachandra, M.A.</i>	
Social Life in Jaina Literature	... 79
<i>Sen, Priyaranjan, M.A.</i>	
In Memory of Scott	... 153
<i>Sharma, Krishnakumar, M.A.</i>	
The Allahabad Unity Conference	... 45
<i>Sinha, B. K.</i>	
Some Aspects of Ibsen Study	... 69
<i>Suhrawardy, Sir Hassan, Kt., O.B.E., M.D., F.R.C.S.I., D.P.H.</i>	
Convocation Address	... 1
<i>Wadalia, Bal Gurdial Singh</i>	
Song (<i>Poem</i>)	... 384
<i>Wolseley, R. E.</i>	
The Outlook of American Political Radicalism	... 213
<i>Wood, Frederick T.</i>	
John Gay	... 361

Index of Articles.

	Page.
Balloon Man (<i>Poem</i>)	... 354
Buddha, Gautama (<i>Poem</i>)	... 332
Bugle Calls, The (<i>Poem</i>)	... 360
Child Worker in India, The	... 59
Convocation Address, Calcutta	1, 143
Comrades (<i>Poem</i>)	... 390
Disarmament	... 385
East and West	... 101
Evening, Ode to (<i>Poem</i>)	... 152
Faith, To (<i>Poem</i>)	... 100
Friar's Crag, Derwentwater (<i>Poem</i>)	... 172
Friend, To My (<i>Poem</i>)	... 186
Gay, John	... 361
Gita, The Concept of Svadharma in the	... 187
Goods Standard, A	... 23
Hindu Shrines in Ceylon, Pre-Buddhistic	... 285
Ibsen Study, Some Aspects of	... 69
Immanence and Human Freedom, Divine	... 153
Jaina Literature, Social Life in	... 73
Love, Slave of (<i>Poem</i>)	... 44
Manansa-cult and its Literary Expression, A Study of the	... 173
Merry-go-round in Winter (<i>Poem</i>)	... 346
Mir Qasim's War with the English, The Genesis of	... 317
Music and Numbers	... 197
Neptune, Beyond (<i>Poem</i>)	... 296
Ourselves	123, 269, 400
Pahlevi, Reza Shah	... 240
Perception, The Realistic Analysis of	... 247
Perfection, The Pathway to	... 347
Poetry	... 196
Poetry of Rabindranath, Western Influence on the	... 103
Political Radicalism, The Outlook for American	... 213
Progress, Thoughts on	... 36
Prostitution in Bengal, Hindu	... 355
Reality of Oxford, A	... 95
Reviews	119, 257, 391
Scott, In Memory of	... 153
Sinking Fund in India, Early Experiments with	... 333
Song (<i>Poem</i>)	... 334
Spinoza, Is he a Riddle ?	... 297
Synthetical Trends in Science, Some	... 275
Tantras, Studies in the	... 223
Unity Conference, The Allahabad	... 45

THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

APRIL, 1933

CONVOCATION ADDRESS ¹

YOUR EXCELLENCY, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

Welcome To Sir John Anderson.

Let me at the outset convey our most cordial greetings on behalf of this University to you Sir, our Chancellor, on this, the occasion of your first visit to our University. The fame of your eminent services as a distinguished member of the Civil Service of Great Britain and the distinction and success which attended every position which you occupied had already reached us, and we now know at first hand that you are carrying out a progressive policy with firmness and sympathy, as the head of this great province, in this, perhaps the most critical, stage of our history. Personally I can testify to the very valuable help I have already received from you in the matter of organizing the University administration on sound, systematic and well thought-out lines. My personal discussions with you have been, in the real sense of the term, an education to me. We have no doubt that your term of office as Chancellor and Governor of Bengal will be marked by great forward steps in the affairs of the University as well as in the political conditions of the province.

¹ Address delivered by Sir Hassan Suhrawardy, Kt., O.B.E., M.D., F.R.C.S.L., D.P.H., Vice-Chancellor, Calcutta University, on Saturday, the 25th March, 1933.

Sir Stanley Jackson.

I should like to take this opportunity of publicly expressing our most sincere gratitude to my late chief, the Right Hon'ble Sir Stanley Jackson, for his services to the University. I found in him a great gentleman, one who never failed me in any of my attempts to serve the interests of this University. If I have been able to put the Post-Graduate Department on a stable basis, if I have been able to bring about healthy changes in the Regulations, if I have been able to protect the University from interference by outside authorities, if I have been able to bring about a more adequate and effective representation of all communities in University bodies, and if I have been able to create an atmosphere of good will and co-operation inside the University and between it and the Government, it is due in no small measure to the unfailing sympathy and practical assistance which I received from Sir Stanley Jackson whenever I approached him. Warmly interested in the welfare of the rising generation, anxious to meet and mingle with youth, whether in the field of Sports or in the realm of Education, his attractive and genial personality and ever-radiant smile struck a responsive chord in our hearts. It is unfortunate that the last days of his Chancellorship were marred by an incident, the painful details of which I abstain from repeating, and we are all grateful to kind Providence for the way in which It protected his life and thus save our honour and dignity as a great seat of Learning.

It has been a matter of the deepest concern to us to note the infection of the virus of terrorism amongst young students of our schools and colleges. The Syndicate and the Senate have from time to time expressed their strong disapproval of the growth of terrorist activities in the country and have appealed to all responsible persons having the guidance of young men in their hands to exert their active influence to counteract the spread of ideas subversive to law and order amongst impressionable youths. I avail myself of this opportunity of giving the

resolution of the Syndicate and the Senate greater publicity and bringing it to the notice of the members of the Convocation to-day and through them of the wider public, and appeal to the parents and guardians of boys and girls whose young lives are threatened with destruction by the torrential gust of revolutionary ideas, to lend their whole-hearted support and active co-operation to the University in counteracting this terrible menace to the peaceful pursuit of knowledge. I do not wish to digress into the paths of politics, but as the custodian of the honour and good name of this University, it is my duty to warn its alumni against the terrible disaster, subversive activities against Government established by law of the land will bring and has brought to the country and the set-back it has already given to our aspirations for the speedy attainment of *Swaraj*. I am sure the roots and branches of this evil plant will wither away and die under the influence of a genuine and strong public opinion against it.

Students and Politics.

I claim to be a friend of the student community and their welfare has always engaged my most anxious thoughts. I would therefore, like to again repeat that the participation of students in active politics does not form part of the programme of their work as students. The opportunities which a young man or a girl misses during the most receptive period of their lives, will never come back and the loss thus sustained can never be made good. In this conviction of mine I have the weighty support of every mature thinker and well-wisher of the student community, including my great predecessor Sir Asutosh Mookerjee. Standing in this very hall in the midst of circumstances and conditions similar to those prevailing to-day, he exhorted the young graduates assembled in a Convocation in words of wisdom which are as true to-day as when they were uttered. He said :—

“ Students of this University, allow not the pursuit of your studies to be disturbed by extra-academic elements. Forget

not that the normal task of the student, so long as he is a student, is not to make politics, nor to be conspicuous in political life. You have not that prudent firmness, that ripe experience, that soundness of judgment in human affairs, which is essential in politics and will be attained by you only in the battle of life in the professions and in responsible positions. Remember further that if you affiliate yourselves with a party, you deprive yourselves of that academic freedom which is a prerequisite to self-education and culture. Submit not, I implore you, to intellectual slavery and abandon not your most priceless possession, to test, to doubt, to see everything with your own eyes. Take this as a solemn warning that you cannot, with impunity and without serious risk to your mental health, allow your academic pursuits to be rudely disturbed by the shocks of political life. Devote yourselves therefore to the quiet and steady acquisition of physical, intellectual and moral habits and take to your hearts the motto :

“ Self-reverence, self-knowledge, self-control,
These three alone lead life to sovereign power.”

Before I proceed to make a brief statement of the important events of the year since we last met at Convocation, I have to refer to the losses we have sustained by death, resignation or retirement.

Obituary.

During the year under review the University had to mourn the loss of—

Pandit Krishnakamal Bhattacharyya, B.L.;

Sir Syed Ali Imam, K.C.S.I., Bar.-at-Law, at one time
Member of the Executive Council of His Excellency
the Viceroy ;

Mr. W. H. Ardenwood, M.A., C.I.E., Late Principal of the La Martiniere College ;

Mr. Hemichandra Dasgupta, M.A., F.G.S., Professor of Geology, Presidency College; and

Mahamahopadhyay Asutosh Sastri, M.A., a distinguished Sanskrit Scholar—for many years Principal of the Sanskrit College ;

all of whom were at some time or other intimately connected with us in their capacity as Fellows of the University and suitable references about them have already been made by me at the meetings of the Senate.

Resignation and Retirement.

Amongst those who vacated their seats on the Senate, due to resignation, I would like to mention the names of Lt.-Col. D. P. Goil, I.M.S., who left us on his appointment as Inspector General of Civil Hospitals of the Punjab and of Lt.-Col. R. B. Seymour-Sewell, C.I.E., I.M.S., Director of Zoological Survey in India, who is shortly due to retire from service. He gave me valuable help in organising our syllabuses in Anthropology, Comparative Anatomy, Zoology and other Scientific subjects.

We have lost also by resignation the services of Sir Jadunath Sircar who on retirement after a long and distinguished record of service under the Government of Bihar, became Fellow of this University and soon after, on 8th August, 1926, its Vice-Chancellor. He soon made himself familiar with the details of the inside working of this University and the exacting duties of its Vice-Chancellor, and during the two years of his term of office did not spare himself in his effort to serve the true interests of this great institution. It is a piece of bad luck that the call of research work in History has compelled him to sever his connection with us and deprive me of his valuable support and help.

Participation in Public Celebrations.

Engaged as we are in dry routine work, it is not always possible for us to break into joyous participation in popular functions. It is, therefore, a matter of sincere gratification that during the year under review the University took part in public celebrations regarding some of the moulders of modern thought in this province. An academic reception was arranged for the first time and held in honour of our septuagenarian poet-philosopher Rabindranath Tagore—may I say Professor Rabindranath Tagore. His name is borne on the roll of our honorary graduates, and since last year he has been a member of our teaching staff. I am proud to be the Vice-Chancellor of a University which has on its professorial staff the two “Nobel Laureates of the East”—the Laureate in Letters and the Laureate in Science. The Syndicate offered its felicitations on the occasion of the celebration of his 57th birth day to Mr. Saratchandra Chatterjee, whose name is well-known wherever Bengali is read and taught. Our own Professor Sir P. C. Ray has just completed his 70th year. It is a well-known fact that his genius has created the modern School of Chemistry in this country. His students are now the heads of the departments of Chemistry in Allahabad and Dacca, in Bangalore and Madras. It is only fitting that we should honour such an eminent scientist and research-worker by associating his name with the new annexe of our Science College. Though Pandit Madanmohan Malaviya does not belong to this province, we still count him as one of us, being one of our earliest graduates, and it was a great pleasure to me to arrange a meeting in our Senate Hall to celebrate his 70th birthday anniversary. A century hence his services to Hindu revival or to politics of our times may be forgotten, but the University of Benares in the age-old surroundings of sanctity and learning will stand as a permanent monument to his great zeal for education and his genius as a builder and organizer. It is a piece of good fortune that these important events occurred during

my term of office as Vice-Chancellor, and it was given to me to take my due share in their celebrations. May these great sons of India live long, earn greater honours and, more than all, give a lead to careers of usefulness of those coming after them.

Post-Graduate Department.

One of the outstanding events of the year is the stabilization of the Post-Graduate Department. Hitherto the teachers were generally on short-term appointments. Such appointments do not contribute to a healthy and satisfactory state. For several years past attempts were being made to give security of tenure to our teachers who rendered valuable service as teachers and research-workers in difficult circumstances. I congratulate the University on achieving this great reform and placing the University teachers on a permanent cadre.

Arabic, Persian and Vernacular Sections.

Another change of an important character relates to the re-organization of teaching of Arabic and Persian in the Post-Graduate Departments. Though it was recommended by the members of the Calcutta University Commission in 1917, nothing could be done hitherto. We have now strengthened the departments suitably and can undertake teaching both of Arabic and Persian in the M.A. classes by the group system. The University is to be congratulated on its good luck in securing, for the Group of Arabian Philosophy in the Department of Islamic Studies, the services of such an eminent scholar as Viscount Santa Clara, Count Galarza; a Spanish nobleman who after a long sojourn in Egypt and other Islamic countries is now on a visit to India. The department of Indian Vernaculars has also been strengthened by the addition of two lectureships, one in Hindi and the other in Urdu, respectively.

Vernacular as the Medium of Instruction.

Certain very important changes in the curriculum of the Matriculation Examination has been passed by the Senate, and our proposals are now being examined by Government.

The Regulations, as adopted by the Senate, contemplate important changes in the system so far followed in the University in many respects. First of all, they provide for instruction and examination being conducted through the medium of the Vernacular. Introduction of elementary science (Physics and Chemistry) as a subject of study for the Matriculation Examination is also an important step, although, for the first five years, it has been included in the list of optional subjects.

Special courses of studies have also been provided for girl candidates including teaching of domestic science, which include home-nursing, mother-craft, and other cognate subjects, so that they may be educated to become useful members of the household as wives and mothers, at the same time having an alternative course for advanced studies amongst those who may like to prosecute their studies further.

Accounts Manual.

The need for a Manual of Procedure and Accounts was felt and a Committee was appointed to examine the existing system and procedure of keeping accounts in the University and making suggestions for improvement. As a result of this an Accounts Manual has been prepared and will be brought into use very soon. I have no doubt business will be speeded up and accounts kept in a much more satisfactory condition for all purposes of check, examination, reference and explanation. I am indebted to the members of the Special Committee for the cheerful way in which they have undertaken the duty.

University Press.

The department of the University Press and Publication has been growing in importance. I have felt that a Committee should investigate the avenues of improvement and reorganization.

As far as the Arabic, Persian and Urdu sections are concerned, my proposals are being considered by the Syndicate, and I trust we shall be able to purchase new types and appoint a competent and well-trained person in charge of proof-reading and general management of this section.

University Professors.

I am very glad to have the approval of Government to the appointment of Dr. Rabindranath Tagore as Professor of Bengali under special terms for a period of two years.

Rai Bahadur Khagendranath Mitra, M.A., whose work for Bengali language and literature has elicited praise from all authorities, has been appointed Ramtanu Lahiri Professor of Bengali for five years. He has retired from his post of Inspector of Schools, Presidency Division, to join this new appointment.

Mr. Shahid Suhrawardy, B.A. (Oxon.), a linguist, poet, and scholar, at one time Director of Moscow Art Theatre, reputed for his knowledge of Modern Dramaturgy and Mediæval Muslim Art, was appointed Bageswari Professor of Indian Fine Arts for a term of five years in the first instance, and in conformity with our rules and past practice, has been deputed to Europe for a period of one year for further specialization in the study of Art.

While it has been a great pleasure for me to be able to report that teaching side of the University has been strengthened in different directions, it is a matter of genuine regret to me that some of our eminent Professors are leaving us. Professor Hiralal Halder who was such a tower of strength in the Depart-

ment of Philosophy ever since it was constituted, has to retire at the end of April under our inelastic age regulations.

Professor Sir Venkata Raman is proceeding on one year's leave next month to take up the important duties of Director of the Institute of Science, Bangalore.

Professor Sir Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan has asked for an extension of his leave for two years, to continue his work as Vice-Chancellor of the Andhra University.

We are also losing the services of Lt.-Col. V. B. Green-Armytage, I.M.S., Fellow of this University and Professor of Midwifery and Gynaecology in our Medical College. He is resigning his present position to take over his new appointment as Professor of Post-Graduate teaching in the same subjects in West London Hospital. By his professional skill and power of expression and teaching he has earned for himself the position of leading Gynaecologist and the Doyen of Maternity work in India. He had been helping me to draw up a scheme for introducing a Post-Graduate Diploma in Midwifery in our University.

I am deeply grieved that my University has to sustain these losses, but my consolation is that the loss of this University is the gain of sister educational institutions.

Readership Lectures.

Sir Edward Denison Ross, that eminent orientalist to whom Islamic studies in India owes a deep debt of gratitude, and that great educationist, Madame Montessori, who had been invited to deliver Readership Lectures on Persian Art and Modern Methods of Education, respectively, could not visit India during this cold weather, but we hope they will be able to do so next year.

Sir Richard Gregory, the eminent scientist, delivered a course of lectures which attracted a large audience.

Mr. D. C. Vissar, Consul General for the Netherlands, who conducted the three Karakorum Expeditions in 1922, 1925 and 1929-30, delivered a course of lectures on the results of the expeditions with special reference to the following topics :—

- (1) Glaciers and mounts ;
- (2) Snow and glaciers in Central Asia and the Alps ;
- (3) Origins of Avalanches.

Arrangements are in progress for inviting Dr. Jiresk, Chief Surgeon of the Czech University Clinic at Prague and the University Professor of Surgery, author of many scientific and practical treatises, to deliver a course of lectures in this University as an Honorary Reader for the benefit of our advanced students.

Change of Administrative Staff.

The posts of two Secretaries in the Post-Graduate Departments of Arts and Science were amalgamated and Mr. S. C. Ghosh, M.A., a member of the Senate, who had considerable experience as Secretary in the Department of Arts, was appointed Secretary to the Post-Graduate teaching in Arts and Science. Dr. Adityanath Mukherjee, who vacates his office as Registrar at the end of this month, has been appointed to officiate as George the V. Professor of Philosophy, and the Senate has appointed Mr. J. C. Chakravorti, M.A., the Assistant Registrar, as Registrar. The Syndicate has appointed Mr. Sudhanath Mukherjee, B.L., Inspector of Hostels, to be the Assistant Registrar. Babu Amritlal Bose, Superintendent of the University Offices, retired after a service of 43 years. He was an exceedingly capable officer of the University, carrying with him the tradition of having worked with 17 Vice-Chancellors and 18 Registrars with a uniform good record of service. I am very sorry to lose his loyal and efficient services. In his place the Syndicate has appointed Babu Kartickchandra Das Gupta, B.A., who has got 23 years' service with the

University to his credit. I am glad Mr. N. C. Sen, B.Sc., M.A., carries on his responsible work as Controller of Examinations. I have nothing but praise for the manner in which he has been carrying out his very arduous and onerous duties.

Endowments.

Several new endowments for the award of medals or scholarships were accepted by the University. While the institution of medals is no doubt a recognised means of encouragement, it is more helpful and desirable to have scholarships which will enable poor and deserving students to pursue their studies unhampered by financial worries. In this connection I have much pleasure in announcing the generous offer of $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. G. P. Notes of the face value of Rs. 1,50,000 by Dr. Harendracoomer Mookerjee, M.A., Ph.D., University Inspector of Colleges, for sending properly qualified Bengali Protestant Christian students abroad for a course of theoretical and practical training in technical, industrial, mechanical, agricultural and allied subjects.

Affiliated Institutions.

During the year under review, three more colleges were affiliated to the University, *viz.*, the Habigunge College, Assam, the Victoria Institution, Calcutta, the latter being meant only for girl students, and Victoria School, Kurseong, up to the I.A. standard.

Eleven colleges were granted extension of affiliation in additional subjects.

The total number of affiliated colleges at the end of 1932 was 59, while the total number of recognized schools was 1,209, of which 587 enjoy permanent recognition and the rest are on a basis of provisional recognition. Forty-five schools were recognised by the University for the first time during 1932.

Degrees and Scholarships.

During the year under review, Mr. Mohinimohan Bhattacharyya, Mr. Manomohan Ray, Mr. Satkari Mukherjee and Mr. Surendrakishore Chakrabarti obtained the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy, and the Degree of Doctor of Science was awarded to Mr. Subodhgobinda Chaudhuri, M. Sc., and to Mr. Satyaprasad Raychaudhuri, M.Sc. Mr. Dhirendranath Ray, M.B., Mr. Subodh Chandra Lahiri, M.B., and Dr. Bidhubhushan Bhattacharyya, M.B., have been admitted to the Degree of M.D. This high distinction has not been achieved by any graduate in medicine since 1922. I hope their example will be followed by others.

The Premchand Roychand Studentships in Literary and Scientific subjects for the year 1931 were awarded to Mr. Gopinath Bhattacharyya, M.A., in Literary subjects and in Scientific subjects to Mr. Sisirendu Gupta. The Premchand Roychand Scholarship in Science for the year 1932 was awarded to Mr. Phanindranath Brahmachari, M.Sc., M.B.

Sports.

I am glad to be able to report that our students are keen after sports and some of their achievements have brought credit to the University. We have also a Rowing Club. Thanks to Government which allowed the use of the Ultadanga Canal we have been able this year to give an impetus to rowing by our students, and we had our annual regatta for the first time in the Dhakuria Lake. I am, however, not satisfied with the condition of the Calcutta University Rowing Club. With the help of the Calcutta Corporation and the Improvement Trust and the generosity of kind friends we ought to be able to develop this side of our activities and have modern rowing boats, a boat house and pontoon of our own at Dhakuria Lake, and conduct our rowing club on the lines of famous British Universities.

University Training Corps.

I hope that the glories of the play-ground will be extended to the battlefield of life and that our students will come forward in larger numbers to join the Calcutta University Training Corps. My Syndicate is prepared to give special facilities to students of colleges who join the corps. We are also at present through a committee considering the possibility of introduction of military science as a subject of our studies in the undergraduate classes, also for making rules regarding examination in physical fitness before entering the University.

As captains of hockey and foot-ball teams our students and youngmen have created a fine record. I would like that they should create a tradition of showing initiative and character as leaders of men and captains in the army. There is not the least doubt that both the country and the youngmen themselves are going to benefit immensely by taking up this new career which has been thrown open to Indians in the Army.

Bengal should send an increasing number of her young men to compete for positions in the Indian Sandhurst and other military academies.

If Bengal lags behind in giving her quota of officers and men in the future Army of India, it does not require a prophet to forecast her place in an autonomous country. No amount of philosophy, no amount of culture and literacy, will stem the tide of an invasion.

If you desire to attain the status of true *Swaraj*, make yourselves physically fit, so that you can maintain law and order within your own country and repel aggression from without.

Convocation Day : Problems of Life.

The Annual Convocation is generally an occasion to express one's gratification at the results attained by the University, and the members of its teaching staff, and to offer congratulations

to the new graduates but, I consider, it is also a very suitable occasion to take some notice of the burning questions of the day, for giving some suggestions on important problems of everyday life.

Graduates of the University, you are beginning your life at a period which is fraught with the greatest possibilities for the future of your country. You are on the threshold of great constitutional reforms leading to increased responsibilities for the children of the soil and the opening up of new avenues of employment and of work. You are in the midst of changes in age-old customs and social traditions, and you are also witnessing the throes of a great economic crisis and industrial upheaval. It is for you to think and decide how your time and energy and your intelligence and understanding will be best devoted in grappling with the essential features of your national development, so that you may worthily play your part in the great task which lies ahead.

Tragedy of Unemployment.

The unemployment question, specially among the graduates of the University, is becoming a difficult social problem. While the Universities cannot directly contribute to the solution of this problem, they can at any rate bring about some clear thinking. If we compare the statistics of our graduates in any year, it will be seen that our degree-holders of University education are out of all proportion to the number of literate persons in the country, and there are not as many avenues for work and employment for them as there are in the western countries. Acquisition of knowledge for its own sake can be indulged in by a few. The majority take up University education on account of its wage-earning capacity.

The tragedy of unemployment amongst graduates and their inefficiency which the different employing departments are faced with every day, is largely the effect of a great increase in the

number of Universities and University students, without a corresponding rise in the level of quality or any attempt at selection or discrimination giving them vocational guidance in the earlier stages of their education. They follow the beaten track without thinking or discrimination, and take up groups of subjects which are unremunerative and for which they are temperamentally, physically, mentally, and financially unsuited.

Reconstruction of the System of Education.

I am afraid a drastic change and reconstruction of our educational system is essentially necessary. It is also necessary for Government to establish a department for vocational guidance in the pre-University stage, and an employment bureau which should form contacts with the University and its affiliated institutions with a view to try and strike a healthy balance between supply and demand. What is required is that students should be given facilities so that with the least possible expenditure of years of their lives and the resources of their parents and guardians, they can come out into the world as healthy and promising lads well equipped with the necessary requirements of modern times. It would be also a step in the right direction, if Government did not attach undue importance to the passing of the University examinations as an essential qualification for entering Government service but instituted a board to apply their own tests to find out whether a person has got the necessary mental alertness, physical fitness and education. It is also a matter for consideration both by Government and the people whether instead of providing high University education for all and sundry, our demands cannot be better met through extra-mural institutions in different parts of the country specialising in suitable branches of study and giving a high standard of technical, vocational and cultural education. The Universities should be maintained as seats of higher learning for the benefit of those who, as I have stated above, are found fit for such pursuits, exacting a high standard from all who enter

their portals, and freed from the embarrassing necessity of having to depend on fee funds for their existence.

New Careers for Young Men.

In order to encourage our young men to take up manual training and agriculture, the University is at present considering, through a committee, the feasibility of a scheme suggested by Sir Daniel Hamilton for employment of some of the youths of the *Bhadralog* classes, in the directions of co-operative work, rural reconstruction and development of agriculture. It is, however, sad to think that in spite of the fact that the interest of the largest section of the people of India is in agriculture, our young men think that it is incompatible with their position and dignity to have to do anything with land and agriculture. It will do well for our graduates to know that gentlemen farmers of Europe have more peace and plenty than many titled gentlemen and so-called landlords of our country. I have no doubt that my countrymen will soon realize the correct meaning of the dignity of labour and will find it a joy and profit to take to occupations other than Government service or the crowded profession of law. Agriculture and Forestry have also a really highly scientific and technical side by the knowledge of which we can preserve our assets and increase our outputs. What I want is that our youngmen should in increasing numbers look for careers in many other professions which do not seem to have attracted them sufficiently so far : such as the Army, the Navy, the Air Forces, the Police, the Mercantile Marine, Horticulture, Architecture, Art, Music, Commerce and Industry. I repeat, therefore, for the consideration of the authorities, the importance of vocational guidance in the earlier stages of our student's life and again draw the attention of the Department of Education to what I mentioned in my Convocation Address in the year 1931.

Health of Students : Factors of Political Unrest.

It is a matter of great concern to me that the average health and strength of our youngmen who join the University are considerably lower than they ought to be.

In my Convocation Address in 1931 I have drawn attention to the appalling condition of physical unfitness and inefficiency of our students. The matter ought to engage the serious consideration of our men in public life. I desire to invite the attention of the Hon'ble Minister of Education of Bengal and of all elected representatives of the people in the Legislative Councils as well as of the members of Government in the different provinces of India, to this grave and serious problem, and call upon them to take remedial measures to overcome the causes of ill-health amongst the youths of India. The political unrest and upheaval we are witnessing so much in our country has in many cases a psychological, pathological and economic background due to defective nutrition, nervous overstrain, unemployment and poverty.

Strain of Examinations and prolonged Courses of Studies.

I would like again to repeat that certain changes are essential in the very system of our education. As far as this University is concerned I am of opinion that relief should be given to the strain on the students caused by prolonged courses of studies, long hours of work without a break and too many examinations during the hot months. The Syndicate have passed a resolution regarding a break in the hours of work and are now considering my proposal of the feasibility of finishing all the examinations by February, and not going on into the hot months as at present. I have every hope that with a sympathetic Syndicate and a willing Controller of Examinations, some effective steps would be taken in this direction in the near future.

The Universities could also do a good deal in improving the physical conditions of young men by introducing certain essential changes in the courses of studies. For instance, while it is possible for a Matriculate to get Honours Degree or a Tripos in Oxford or Cambridge (which is equivalent to our M.A.), three years after Matriculation, we are here called upon to spend about six years for a similar degree. The course of studies of six years for a graduate in medicine is also much more prolonged than in any other country. It is no wonder that most of our youngmen who get out of the University come out pale, worn-out and anaemic creatures. They have no joy in life. A comparison of an English public school and an English University with our corresponding institutions reveals the striking difference. I am afraid I must again repeat that a radical overhauling of the foundations of our educational system seems to be urgently called for, and I hope in the interests of our youth and sound education, careful examination of this problem will be undertaken soon.

Tuberculosis Menace.

I am perturbed at the information given to me by Dr. A. C. Ukil, Director, Tuberculosis Inquiry, Indian Research Fund Association, that one out of six patients diagnosed as suffering from Pulmonary Tuberculosis has turned out to be a student, and 70 per cent. of such students belong to the different colleges in Calcutta. The fact that students form a large proportion of the victims of this terrible disease should give us real cause for alarm. It is a most important social and economic problem, and if not taken in hand early will undermine our vitality as a nation and our efficiency and capacity for work and earning our bread. Dr. Ukil is preparing a scheme to fit in with the activities of our Student Welfare Committee. One of the most necessary things is an X-ray plant and I trust some one will present the University with an X-ray apparatus for taking skiagrams of the chest,

which is absolutely necessary for an early detection of the disease. The capital expenditure for this purpose would be Rs. 8,000 and the recurring cost not more than Rs. 200 a month. It should not be difficult to find this amount for protecting our student population from this deadly scourge.

By the means mentioned above, we can detect the early cases which have the best chances of recovery. The University, however has no funds from which it could take the responsibility of providing Sanatorium treatment or any kind of special treatment that may be necessary. With a strong body of public opinion behind it, a responsible Government and the people of the country should take urgent lead in the matter, and with public benefactions and Government encouragement, find adequate means for combating this white plague which is eating into the very vitals of the nation.

The Ideals of Education.

Thus far I have given a few suggestions by which we can improve the health and welfare of our student community and make our educational Institutions more useful in turning out persons properly equipped for the different vocations of life.

Graduates of the University, I feel I must tell you on this important day in your life, that education is not merely a means of earning a livelihood. Important as it is as a means of livelihood, its great use is to make our lives better and more useful not only for ourselves, but for others, in short to make us better men and women.

With the mechanisation of the world, man will cease to be less and less of a drudge and a machine. Life will have larger and larger patches of leisure. While we work and toil for wages, while we earn and spend, our true and real interests in life do not express themselves. The most important problem of education to-day is how best to utilise our leisure. It is the way in which we utilize our leisure, we spend our idle moments,

that develops the innate spirit of our mind. Enrich your life with interests other than those by means of which you earn your livelihood—the joy and pleasure of it is immense. On the scene of human life, there is nothing nobler and more beautiful than a good man or a good woman. The value of your University education will be judged by its ideals and its results, by its capacity to uproot the baser instincts of human nature, of passion and hatred and to produce such types as will help to heal the feuds, the dissensions, the animosities and fanaticisms that unhappily mark our present-day India.

If your vision has been widened and your mind enlightened by a true and liberal education you should be the missionaries of Truth and Toleration.

Has your education transcended the three Gunas (Satya, Rajah, and Tamah) mentioned in the ancient philosophy of the Hindus? If it has, you must have dispelled from within your minds the darkness of ignorance and have emancipated yourselves from the bondage of bigotry, denominational bias and race hatred. There are no restrictions, there are no injunctions, there are no prohibitions which compel you to exclusiveness, narrowmindedness and selfishness.

“Nistraigunye pathi vicharatam ko vidhah, ko nishedhah.”

নিষ্ট্রৈগুণ্যে পথি বিচরতাং কো বিধিঃ, কো নিষেধঃ

(For one who has transcended the three Gunas, what injunctions are there, what prohibitions?)

Let education produce such broad-minded and self-reliant citizens imbued with the true spirit of toleration and infused with true courage, and strength of mind as would refuse to be led like dumb, driven cattle and be utilized as petty pawns. Be resolute and do not yield and succumb to the subtle temptation of earning cheap popularity and applause. “The dull sense and the heavy-lidded eyes of the public” more often applaud a misleader rather than the honest leader, but the future and time

GS 1456

A GOODS STANDARD

PART ONE

The sponsor of the scheme.

The 'gold mentality' of the modern nations has so warped their power of thinking that an "unprejudiced and objective examination" of possible alternatives is not usually forthcoming. Besides, as Walter Bagehot has pointed out long ago, "men in high position are incapable of conceiving a farseeing policy of monetary reconstruction." It is no wonder then that the scheme was sponsored by Mr. Leigh, Secretary of the London Chamber of Commerce.

"Honest broker."

Really speaking what one nation receives from another are goods and services. If trade is in essence "barter" the function of money is to act as an "honest broker." Gold money instead of facilitating this honest exchange has failed to perform this task in a satisfactory manner.

Inelastic credit.

The gold monetary economy which suited primitive times now no longer satisfies the nations for it has landed them into a quagmire. For example if one country makes a technological improvement it means higher dividends, higher wages, greater output and lower prices for the increased goods. Other countries not enjoying this technological improvement would be forced to lower their prices of these goods if they were at all to compete with the goods of the first country. Although more commodities are produced in the first country the prices cannot expand as a result of inelasticity of credit mechanism based on the gold standard.

All-round lower prices.

Apparent overproduction in one industry becomes the cause of the general evil of lower prices and other industries are also ruined as production is being restricted to suit the purchasing power.

Poverty amidst plenty.

Briefly considered a technological improvement in the gold standard country means under-consumption as a result of lack of purchasing power. If mass production is not followed by mass consumption, which evidently cannot be the case under inelastic purchasing power, there is a breakdown of internal economy due to monetary instability to keep pace with the productive factor. In short, the gold standard mechanism does not give full internal purchasing power so as to maintain a stable general price-level specially at a time when rapid technological improvements are taking place on the industrial side. Hence the anxiety of the producers to export their goods abroad and unwillingness to import goods into the country. Poverty amidst plenty has been the resulting feature of the modern gold standard. As production has become stimulated greatly the needed monetary credits cannot be raised as a result of the inexpandability of the gold basis of credit.

The pyramiding of gold.

While nations have been thus struggling in vain against the defective gold standard the new obligation of paying international war debts has been thrust upon the gold monetary mechanism. As payment of reparations and war debts meant only one-sided flow of gold and the pyramiding of gold in the hands of creditor countries like the U.S.A. and France the debtor countries have been forced to deflate and the wise creditor countries who had the intelligence enough as not to expand

their currencies did not make use of the incoming gold. Banking theorists have unjustly accused them for not making use of the incoming gold and playing the game of the gold standard in right earnest. The U.S.A. at any rate wisely refused to sabotage its own industries by raising the internal price-level and permitting foreign industries to enter the American market. So the creation of stable money co-expanding with the actual volume of production cannot be secured easily under the international gold standard monetary mechanism.

Other reasons for deposing gold monetary economy.

Apart from the fact that gold production is inadequate and fortuitous and as world recovery of trade is indeed remote, the needed willingness to co-operate internationally is not forthcoming. The gold fetish has been overdone. Too high a value has been attached by the respective Governments and the linking of expanding local currencies at the old values to the gold base is bound to become an impossible feat. So a new monetary economy is suggested by Mr. A. de V. Leigh. Instead of stepping back to the old monetary regime after deposing gold from it every country should adopt the goods standard whose salient features can be briefly referred to under two headings.

The external side.

Each country should have a Central Bank and these Central Banks should meet in a Central Bankers' Clearing House where exchanges would be worked on the old parity. Again all exchanges have to be worked through this Clearing House alone and Central Banking mechanism at the established rate of exchange. Every local currency will have its fixed ratio of exchange with every other local currency and all Central Banks will be represented in the Central Banker's Clearing House.

Free and independent states.

These local states will be free and independent under the new monetary system and rid of the necessity to combine national economic policies with the existence of an overriding international gold standard system which has the unfortunate defect of not being a stable standard of value. The Central Bankers' Clearing House can transfer the claims on the goods of one country to a third and if any return of one country's dues is made it is in the shape of goods or services into the exporting-creditor country. Every import will literally be an order for export and the necessity to send gold on the part of the importing country will not arise. The necessary contraction of currency and the forcing down of prices to a lower level, the reduction of wages and the curtailing of purchasing power which are the usual, indispensable and concomitant features of the gold standard metal need not arise under the new monetary dispensation.

The world-equilibrium.

Under a system where the visible and invisible exports are equal to the visible and invisible imports an equilibrium level will soon be reached. It might be that in some seasonal times a country might export more but it will lead to mere accumulation of short-term credits on the importing country whose internal economy will not be affected in any other way which would have been the result if the countries were on the gold standard. If one country's general price-level were to be far higher than the point of equilibrium, other nations would not wish to buy from it and it will begin to lose its export trade. It would also lose its export trade for other nations might not agree to take their payments in its expensive goods and would feel reluctant to have short-term credits in that country possessing a higher general price-level than that of the world-equilibrium.

Intelligent management.

Similarly if on account of low standard of living the general price level of one country were to be lower than that of the world equilibrium an accumulation of short-term credit on the part of the country would ensue. Unless these are utilised by the country the bank will not agree for an indefinite continuation of this regime and rediscount export bills *ad infinitum* while the rapidly piling up short-term credits are not used by the merchants for importing goods of the debtor countries. Thus an intelligent management of the goods standard is also needed for if the banks fail to exercise their power of refusing to discount further export bills or if the Central Banker does not remind the banks of this duty, the goods standard does not work. Hence the possibility of keeping the general price-level for long below the world equilibrium will never succeed, for the importer's attempt to introduce goods from the low price-level country can be defeated by raising a tariff wall against them.

Again the low price-level country cannot import high-priced goods and sell it inside the country unless mass purchasing power is increased by payment of higher all-round nominal wages. Thus any deviation from the normal world equilibrium is bound to be punished and economic forces will be so exerted that the equilibrium point will soon be reached.

Immunity from external forces.

Under the gold standard this could never work so smoothly for as soon as gold was sent out a deflationary policy was considered inevitable. An inexpansive gold standard means competitive deflation and not satisfied with this evil it has forced the competitive nations to lower the exchange value of their currencies so as to undercut the rival competitors.

The external forces which act on the internal price-level of a country are too many in the case of the gold international standard. Under the goods standard the internal general price-level would not become subjected to external monetary causes.

No straight jacket for industries.

A goods standard means that the supply of credit and currency expands concurrently with the goods factor. Under the gold standard we have already seen that industry is placed in a straight jacket or else forced to sell for lower prices thereby creating further points of disequilibrium in the internal economy of the country. In an age when modern science is fast expanding the quantity of useful goods which people can use to improve their standard of living money or internal purchasing power ought to expand *pari passu* with the increase in goods. It should not depend on one commodity called gold and its possible concurrent expansion for it might or might not be forthcoming. A goods standard can easily secure the necessary criterion of monetary stability which says that monetary tokens must be just equal to exchange deals in goods. "Monetary policy should be so planned," says Sir Basil Blackett in his new book—*Planned Money*, "that monetary tokens just equal the exchange deals." Internal monetary mechanism must expand and contract along with trade activity. While the occurrence of a trade cycle is possible under the gold standard system a goods standard is immune from it, for new expansion or contraction of credit does not take place fortuitously but only when genuine trade demand or slackness needs it.

Rediscounting of commercial bills.

If all eligible commercial bills can be rediscounted with the Central Bank while financial or speculative bills are not



1933]

A GOODS STANDARD

29

rediscounted the above ideal can be easily secured. The Joint Stock Banks must generally lend only for financing current production and distribution and this can be done by securing an eligible bill form which means a definite undertaking to finance current production and distribution. This bill can be rediscounted by the Central Bank and the member bank's account can be expanded with the new credit or Central Bank notes can be issued to the member bank if these were needed by the banker. A fixed fiduciary issue of bank notes can be maintained to make the currency system elastic enough to meet the requirements of the population. On the top of this or superimposed on this structure there will be additional currency created by the rediscounting of eligible trade bills. The credit currency which can be issued by the Joint Stock Banks can be based on 9:1 ratio fixed by law. The bank credit currency can expand to nine times the member banks' cash base which has to be controlled by the C. R. Bank. This ratio can be subjected to any alteration by the C. Bank if it finds speculation or inflation taking place with the help of financial credit.

The controlling of credit.

The credit controller in the goods standard is this ratio of financial credit. It will take the place of "the old bank rate and open market operations policy under the gold standard." If speculation is going on the old ratio of 9:1 can be reduced to 8:1 or 7:1 so that financial credit can be drastically curtailed. The Joint Stock Bank can create credit only against member bank cash or its cash reserve in the hands of Central Bank. This can expand only by the rediscounting of eligible bills. As this can be secured by financing eligible bills alone industry need not be placed in a straight jacket. The internal price-level would be kept in equilibrium with the world price-level.

PART TWO

Criticism of the Goods Standard—skilful monetary manipulation.

Though it can be easily conceded that the old defunct gold standard is a misfit in this scientific world it can be intelligently managed for the time being before the general run of the people can understand monetary matters and allow it to be skilfully manipulated by the experts solely with the object of achieving monetary stability.

Confidence trick.

The recent war-time experiments with paper currencies have proved that people have no faith in the paper "simulacrum." The goods standard means circulating paper money as monetary tokens. The confidence trick cannot be played by it.

The cart before the horse.

As credit is based on currency the proposed working of the internal system of the goods standard is placing the cart before the horse. It is commercial credit based on the eligible commercial bill that will lead to the expansion of currency.

Inalienable private right.

The right to grant credit should not be curtailed as this scheme requires it to be done. The issue of credit is an inalienable right of the private trader or commercialist and modern trade would shrink to an insignificant volume were this right to be curtailed. While the abuse of this privilege might bring disaster on society still its curtailment would be leading to a worse situation.

Impossible to distinguish.

The drawing of a line of difference between financial and speculative credit on one side and commercial credit on the

other is indeed very difficult. The practical safeguard that the eligible bill form which guarantees the utilisation of credit for productive purposes conveys might be abused. While the quantitative volume of credit might be controlled by an integrated banking system the qualitative nature of credit depends on the borrower. Private re-lending might defeat the intentions of the credit controller.

What of the time-lag?

The financing of the eligible commercial bill might participate something of an inflationary character and lead to excessive credit. At any rate there is a time-lag between the final creation of commodities and the prior creation of credit during which period further credit facilities would have to be raised.

Permanent fixing of the exchange rates.

The ratio or foreign exchange rate is not vitally important but it has to be fixed by the goods standard. Following this the internal currencies must be steadied so as to steady the fixed exchanges. Exchange should and ought to vary with conditions of demand and supply. But this scheme ordains their permanence. It is just like steadying the level of mercury in the barometer without steadying artificially the world conditions outside the barometer. The gold standard also fixes the exchange within par points in addition to the difficulties incidental to the fixing of exchange ratio under the goods standard.

Although the major exchanges of international trade might be steadied under this scheme for nothing but bank money will be sold and bought internationally, a variable rate exists for the negligible business of exchanging national against foreign small bank notes and other forms of currency.

Lack of interchangeability.

The new scheme means that there is no interchangeability between the respective currencies as in the case of metallic currencies having intrinsic value of their own.

The tail wagging the dog.

The practical difficulties in fixing paper exchanges are very many though not insuperable. It presupposes that exchanges and prices are being fixed in the interest of external trade which in case of some countries forms only a very small portion. It is the dog that should wag the tail and the tail should not wag the dog.

Hindrance to trade with gold-using countries.

Unless all countries adopt this goods standard the trade with gold standard countries becomes impeded. At present each country thinks that it is an inalienable privilege to control its credit and currency mechanism in its own interests.

Highly intractable monetary phenomena.

The present-day economic difficulties are not the creation of the gold standard. Monetary difficulties might have aided and accelerated the influences arising out of highly intractable non-monetary phenomena such as tariffs, quotas, exchange restrictions, reparations, war-debts, sheltered wages and confiscatory taxation. The new monetary policy called the goods standard will not lead the world out of the wood. It is lacking certain essential features of stable money. A compensating money of contract is needed and this can be secured if the purchasing power of contractual monetary incomes is protected against the effects of a rising retail price-level as long as production and unemployment increase under the stimulus of rising wholesale prices.

No demonetisation of gold.

An improved gold standard would not render necessary the demonetisation of gold needed by the goods standard. No alteration of the existing machinery would be needed if the gold standard can be restored.

No clean slate.

This scheme aims wisely at attaining the ideal of international stabilisation of exchanges and the synchronic development of production and consumption in national territories.

As this scheme cannot be promulgated on a clean slate the present-day monetary difficulties created by excessive investment by creditor countries cannot be solved. Mutual stabilisation credits are needed so as to place the debtor countries on their economic feet. Finally the uniform application of the Tabular standard principle, *i.e.*, an index currency, has to be developed.

The Russian experiment.

Russia experimented with a goods rouble in 1922 and had to very soon abandon it in favour of gold standard currency. The goods standard has to be given up mainly because the accumulated national claims must be convertible into monetary claims without any loss in the foreign country. The accumulated short credits or foreign goods warrants will fall in value with the growing imports needed by the country and with the diminishing quantity of its exports.

PART THREE

MERITS OF THE SCHEME

Parallel expansion.

The scheme of the goods standard consists in expanding basic currency along with production and creative business requirements of the community.

Actual circulation of money.

It aims at the circulation of currency in the hands of the masses. This coterminous increase in the quantity of goods and credit (the latter of which is based on the constant circulation of the standard yard-stick currency) would fix values, stabilise prices and aid the maintenance of prosperous business conditions.

The barter basis of the scheme.

The resort to barter basis of trade on which the scheme is conceived is already in existence under the gold standard scheme. The Canadian Dominion has been bartering away excessive wheat for the unwanted coffee holdings of the Brazilian Republic. Russia is supposed to be organising similar exchanges between its oil and Brazilian coffee.

Producer as the controller of currency.

It makes provision for the control of the expansion and contraction of currency and credit by the Central Bank. It takes away this control from the hands of the money-lender and dealer who control the monetary metal, viz., gold. The real producer now stands as the controller and creator of basic currency. The control of gold over nations and men has been a tyrannous feature depriving every human being of a fair profit and the means to live in comfort during the transitory period of life on earth. As all the monetary gold at present mined would form, if melted, into a block or cubic mound thirty-one feet long, thirty-one feet high and thirty-one feet wide it is apparently insufficient to act as standard monetary metal for vastly increasing business requirements of the modern scientific world. It is no use pyramiding credit on a small pin-point of gold until it becomes top-heavy and crashes to the ground. The true ideal of banking, namely the permitting of entire business of nation to run on smooth lines, will be secured under the scheme.

B. RAMACHANDRA RAU

THOUGHTS ON PROGRESS

5. *Modes of Progress*

Here we take up the all-important discussion regarding the modes of progress. The modes, as generally understood, fall into the following categories: (1) Conservative or non-changer, (2) Reformatory or partial changer, (3) Reactionary or hazardous and (4) Revolutionary or total-changer.

(1) The Conservative mode is a mode which is intended to keep up well-secured through all times and under all circumstances the interests either acquired or already enjoyed, either fancied or real, by an insistence on a rigorous adherence to the accepted tradition, the tried policy, the established ways or customary manner of thinking or working. Such an insistence carries with it a peculiar dread of departing openly and effectively from anything which may pass as traditional, hereditary or customary. The conservative mode is either articulate or inarticulate. In the inarticulate mode of conservatism there is to be no exercise of any fresh thought or play of any new reason. As a matter of fact, conservatism in its extreme form is impatient and intolerant of all reason and all thinking. A person adhering to this mode is expected just to blindly follow the prescriptions taken for granted as a regular routine with an implicit faith in an authority as interpreted by a set of persons who are supposed to be its privileged custodians. In its articulate mode conservatism allows neither the freedom of thought nor the freedom of speech, nor of action, which is in any way prejudicial to its own existence and safety. The utmost freedom which it allows or which it may be taken to allow is petitioning to the spokesman of the authority that is not to be challenged, or enlightening oneself through interrogations

and replies, clever or foolish, or a favourable interpretation or advocacy of its cause. It is not a fact that conservatism, either articulate or inarticulate, is inwardly unaware of the change of circumstances calling for an alteration in the mode or new adjustment. But the peculiarity of conservatism is that it denies itself the courage of admitting the change as a fact or recognising or declaring any departure or new adjustment made as made. Such concealment or non-declaration of the change as a fact is bound to produce a cowardliness or effeminacy amongst those who are really guilty of it and a sense of self-deception which affects the life, action and character of those who are guided or governed by them. Thus conservatism entertains within itself some vested interests, well-intentioned or otherwise, that have an easy run so long as there is no clear detection, nor any open and violent opposition and criticism against it. Conservatism as a mode has an advantage over other modes in that those to whom it applies are habituated to it and have thereby a natural disposition to abide by it for their self-preservation and enjoyable living under given circumstances. But, at the same time, it carries within it the seeds of disruption on account of its rigidity, impenetrability, inadaptability, incompatibility, cowardice, narrowness of outlook, inadequacy of means and exclusiveness in spirit. Conservatism is either narrow or liberal, tolerant or intolerant, non-assertive or assertive. Narrow in so far as it does not pay the deserved amount of attention to other traditions and well-tried methods, and liberal in so far as it encourages an expansion within itself. Tolerant in so far as it is non-interfering with other conservative modes, and intolerant in so far as it cannot brook any idea of a change which has not received its sanction, though on a mere semblance of compatibility with its authority. Non-assertive in so far as it keeps its principle to itself, and assertive when it imposes its principle on others either by coercion or by persuasion. As a woman has her need in spite of her whims, caprices, wiles,

guiles, dependence and unreason, so is conservatism, inspite of its shortcomings and dangers. It is useful to the normal and smooth course of life, but it becomes upset at the onrush of a new flood of ideas or of a bewildering set of circumstances. In spite of all its bright points, its defect lies in the fact that its underlying process is blind and unconscious, cowardly and self-deceptive, and that it tends to produce a dull monotony and uniformity in all its creations.

(2) The first step from conservatism towards progress is the mode called Reformative. The Reformative mode is a mode which is intended to introduce some new interpretations or partial alterations to meet the exigencies of time or of thought without disturbing the main structure of conservatism that it takes to be good and useful. Reformation, as commonly understood, is a doctrine of slow-changes, of such changes that may be calculated either to strengthen or to improve the foundation of the main structure or to enhance the beauty and utility of the existing edifice of human institutions. Thus reformation is a course by degrees, it being marked by an anxious consideration at each step to ascertain that the measure is not such as to be inconsistent with the main principle of Conservatism. Thus it may be clearly seen that reformation, however high-sounding its name may be, partakes yet, in its main principles, of the nature of Conservatism as such. It is also cowardly in so far as it bewares of the safety of the old structure, and inadequate in so far as it has not the plan of an altogether new structure in its conception. Thus reformation is, on the whole, a repairing or embellishing or interpretative business differing from conservatism in so far as it has an eye to the usefulness of a somewhat different kind and has an adaptability within a limited scope. There are reformations and reformations. The old bottle may crack by constant pouring of new wines into it. Its main drawback lies in the fact that it tends to delude the people into the belief that

there has been no change in spite of the whole set of alterations. Thus reformation is tethered to a post; the freedom of thought or action which it allows is that of a convict-overseer within prison walls. It also fails to give a free scope to thought, or a free play to reason and action in so far as it insists on building or rebuilding on an old foundation. The Reformer in his main character is still nothing but a skilful interpreter of conservatism and he is a pleader on the defensive and this may well explain how even Gladstone, being a Protestant and Reformer of the Catholic Church was inclined to write a 'Bedrock of Christianity' in defence of his inherited faith. Reformation is guilty to a greater extent, in a sense, that instead of harbouring self-deception peculiar to conservatism, it practises with deliberate intention a deception on others, more harmful in its ultimate consequences, because it prevents the people to recognise the magnitude of the changes that may have palpably appeared. Its bright point, however, is that it does not disturb the fabric by introducing a course of thought or action which is inconsistent therewith. But there is no getting away from the fact that the net result of a Reformatory mode is just the creation of an apparently new but unsound form of conservatism. In India, for instance, there have been many voices of protest, strong or feeble, through all ages against caste from Buddha downwards, nay, even from still earlier times, and with what net result?

History will bear out that these protestations from reformers have served just to produce a tension calculated to divide the amoeba-like organism of caste from one into two, from two into four, from four into eight, and from eight into countless—the depressed ever remaining depressed and untouchable—and that the protestants themselves have come to form separate castes even more rigid and bigoted than those who have lived under it. The reformatory is an evolutionary mode, yet delusive, and ultimately ineffectual, serving as it does to contribute to the very cause which it seeks to modify.

(3) The Reformatory mode assumes the character of the Reactionary when it has to feel its strength in the teeth of strong opposition. Thus understood, Reaction is but a logical step from Reformation. A Reactionary mode is vindictive as it intends to pay the opponent in his own coin. When a person or a number of persons cherishing certain whims or ideals, imperfectly conceived, meet or have to meet certain opposition or repression from persons representing a so-called established authority, they have recourse to reaction as a mode of self-expression. The reactionary mode consists rather in a counteraction of an action adopted on the part of an established authority to suppress or crush all ideas of change or reform incompatible with its inherited ideas. The reactionary mode is bound to assume the form of a rebellion, open or insidious, organized or isolated, and attempts immediately not at the disruption of the authority itself but at the change of hands. Thus the reactionary mode rather aims at persons than at the system represented by them. It may be, the feeling of a reactionary is genuine, and the motive which actuates him is laudable, but the ideas that guide him are not his original conceptions; these are apparently caught somehow from the air, rather imbibed or borrowed than generated within himself. Considered in this light, though a visionary, a reactionary is a mere imitator and a copyist, and can be expected only to have, if at all, a very imperfect idea of a new construction. His thought is taken up by spite and violent condemnation, and, given to follow its own course, it becomes a terrible menace to the peace of those who love to follow the path of least resistance.

The relieving feature of the reactionary mode, however, is that it serves to awaken the sleeping humanity to certain stern realities of life or truth and bestir it into action with a view so to change it that it would be able to meet the emergencies when they arise. Its regrettable feature, on the contrary, is that it mistakes the man for the machinery and does not

realise that so long as the machinery at work continues to be where it is, it will serve only to replace a benevolent tyrant by one more high-handed and malignant. Its immediate motive is rather disruptive than constructive, rather dreadful than hopeful.

(4) The Revolutionary mode is the ultimate step from the Reactionary. Here the form of expression is more pronounced, the action more organized, the plan of construction more potent, and the method of demolition more effective. Revolution, as distinguished from mere Reaction, serves to bring into bold relief the central idea that lies ensconced behind the reaction. A revolution may terminate in precipitate action simply as a stronger expression of reaction or may lead to an altogether new order of things. Viewed in this light, the Revolutionary mode is nothing but an awe-inspiring expression, through concerted action, of a demand felt alike in the innermost depth of humanity and seeking some suitable mode of self-satisfaction.

Revolution may be either retrospective or prospective in its aim and principle. Retrospective, when it tends to put the hand of the clock backward, by trying to bring back an idealized past or original state of things that never existed, and progressive, when it tends to put the hand of the clock forward by holding before mankind an ideal state that is yet to be. The Reactionary feature, however, continues. For, although it attacks the system and aspires to bring a new order into existence, it has to remove the present body of vested interests, the strong champions of the old or existing order. In this sense, a revolution may be regarded a logical consummation of the prospective step of humanity that finds its first expression through reformation. Each revolution starts with a complete dis-satisfaction for the existing state of things, imperfectly read or understood, and with the fascination either for a glorious picture of the past poetically drawn up, or for a glorious picture of the future vividly

imagined. Thus its chief defect lies in its imperfect study of the present and its usefulness. Its brighter side, however, is that downing with the present and its dull monotony and uniformity, its oppressiveness and iniquity and lack of vigour for creative purpose, it tends to usher in a new order which is a self-conscious expression of fulfilment, of self-willed action, marked by the masculine vigour of art and life and the conscious realization of other possibilities.

(5) These four tried modes have each its historical justification and each of these may even be shown to be consonant with what happens in the external order of nature. I can quite realize that each of them has its great usefulness in its proper sphere of application and even that each is needed, to some extent, to advance the cause of humanity. The mode of progress that I have in view is one that intends to increase more and more the latent potentialities of humanity for the satisfaction of its manifold needs of existence and the diversification of the types of its creation, without contradicting in essence the idea and purpose of the tried method of the past or of the present. It is to fulfil by increased degrees the possibilities of humanity by supplementing what is already achieved and adding more meaning and vigour to things existing. In a word, it is to contribute to the totality of human existence, experience and achievement.

It requires us first to see that other modes are being tried in right earnest and carefully watch how and why these fail of their purpose and then try to discover the present special need which, when satisfied, will better equip mankind to draw together more closely for common ends of life. It does not prescribe any single remedy for all time to come and does not lay stress on a single course of action, however fascinating it may appear on account of a powerful advocacy. It requires us to understand that the strength that is acquired is greater in value than the strength which is used up. It needs an increased and all-sided strength—physical, mental,

mental, social, economic, political or spiritual—without laying undue emphasis on any particular kind of strength. It demands us so to train up ourselves in life, thought, action and expression that we can meet all alike and none will go away disappointed from us.

So the main point in the proposed mode is rather meeting than either succumbing or overpowering. The Buddhist or the Christian missionary is not to impose his religion and its paraphernalia upon a Santhal or a Munda, for that would be just to overwhelm him with an awe for a creation which is not his own. The right spirit should be that when a preacher of a so-called superior religion approaches, as he should, the Santhal or the Munda, he should do so not so much to convert as to be converted, not so much to teach as to learn, in short, not to deprive him of the joy of his own creation. It calls us for meeting each other and increasing the possibilities of such meetings for mutual understanding, co-operation, and welfare.

I have already indicated that each of the five conditions—unlikeness, conflict, harmony, unity and beatitude—suggests a peculiar mode of progress and that each of these modes, considered *per se*, is inadequate to ensure the cause of progress as here defined. On the other hand, the training should be of such a character that mankind will be enabled to realise all of these conditions as possible moments of human life and existence. There is no ground whatsoever for an absolute claim. As the professed orthodox may be shown to be heterodox in some respects and on some occasions so the heterodox may equally be shown to be orthodox in certain ways and actions. So far as it is practicable, the convention of profession and initiation is to go, and the spirit of self-realisation of all human possibilities is to take its place. If to hold fast to conservatism is to deny the idea of progress and to practise self-deception so to placate reform is just to endorse the force of conservatism and to be guilty of

practising deception upon others. If to have recourse to a reactionary mode is to replace a benevolent despot by a malevolent one, to have recourse to the revolutionary mode may be equally shown to be more iniquitous in that it may end in the supersession of a benevolent despot by a malevolent one and of a more expedient system by one less expedient. The chief excellence of the proposed mode lies in the recognition it gives to each of these modes and it affords a greater and greater scope for the increased realisation of human possibilities in the matter of existence and creation.

B. M. BARUA

SLAVE OF LOVE

Thou mine ! Thou mine ! oh love unseen—

Oh is this, mouth-word mere,
I fly all round on word-pride wings,
But heart is sore and sere.

Oh Love on me but mercy shed
And be of life the sweetest death
In life of pride, as wisdom veil'd
I'm but a word-made wraith.

Oh Love, thy slave to be,
Is th' despot liberty
Death in thee, the truest life
The sweetest peace in life-strife.

MOHINI MOHAN CHATTERJI

THE ALLAHABAD UNITY CONFERENCE

The Indian delegates to the Second Round Table Conference, having failed to come to any understanding between themselves regarding communal differences, the task naturally had to be decided by His Majesty's Government. The Communal Award of the Premier of His Majesty's Government was not favourably received in India and Mahatma Gandhi raised his voice against the most dangerous part of the Award by deciding to fast himself unto death in case the portion of it relating to the Hindu Community was not changed. The result was the famous Poona Pact which was accepted with commendable promptness by the Prime Minister. The country was filled with a spirit of hopefulness and optimism and the psychological moment was fully taken advantage of by Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and Maulanas Shaukat Ali and Abul Kalam Azad who started negotiations for inter-communal unity.

The Unity Conference to which were invited the representatives of all the important organizations of the country met in Allahabad and appointed a representative sub-committee on November 3, 1932, to frame a scheme satisfying communal claims on the basis of which a unanimous decision could be arrived at. That Committee after 14 days' labour and deliberations on important matters of difference between various communal organizations, came to an agreement. That agreement was published and it was decided that the representatives of the organizations, who were parties to the agreement should put it before their respective organizations to find out if it was acceptable to them with or without modifications.

These representatives met again at Allahabad on December 10, 1932, and all possible amendments to the November

formula were moved and after a thorough discussion the committee adopted the November Agreement without any material alterations. The main aspects of the formula may be summarised as below :—

(1) The Conference demanded full control over the Government of India including defence, foreign relations and finances to the Indian people with only such safeguards, for a short period fixed by statute, as may be shown to be demonstrably necessary in the interests of India and the Conference thus rightly pinned its faith to the historic Delhi Pact entered into between two lovers of unity on behalf of India and England.

(2) With reference to residuary powers, it was agreed that the powers to be exercised by the Indian and Provincial Governments being exhaustively scheduled, the powers so scheduled and divided should not be withdrawn from the Provincial Governments by the Indian Government and a subject not mentioned in the schedule should belong to the Indian or Provincial Government according to the relevancy and closeness of connection with the scheduled subjects. The power of final decision regarding doubt about subjects not scheduled is to be vested in the Supreme Court. A committee was to be appointed to draw up the schedules.

(3) Certain provisions have been mentioned which are to be kept in view by the committee to be appointed to draft the clauses relating to 'Fundamental Rights.' Freedom of conscience, liberty of the press and occupation, equal rights of access to places of public resort, etc., have been guaranteed to people of all classes irrespective of caste, creed, race and colour.

(4) Protection of religion, culture and personal laws have been guaranteed to all communities. It is provided that if two-thirds of the members of any legislature representing a particular community object to a Bill on religious or social grounds or as affecting their fundamental rights ($\frac{1}{3}$ in the

latter case), they can lodge a protest with the president who shall forward it to the Governor-General or the Governor and the latter can withdraw or give his assent to the Bill. The propriety of such a measure can be tested further in the Supreme Court.

(5) Recruitment to the army including air and naval forces is to be open to all nationals irrespective of caste or creed, who possess the necessary qualifications. In considering these qualifications, military traditions will be taken into account, but the fact that a person seeking recruitment has no military tradition will not be a bar to his recruitment.

(6) In the formation of the cabinet of the Central Government as far as possible Muslims, Sikhs and Indian Christians shall be included by Convention and the claims of important minorities are guaranteed in Provincial cabinets.

(7) No person will be disabled for admission into public services merely because of considerations of caste, creed, community, race or sex and appointments will be made by non-party public service commissions, Central and Provincial. In all Provincial Public Service Commissions important communities of the Provinces will be represented.

(8) *Central Legislature.*—In the Central Legislature provision has been made on the basis of a modified form of joint electorates for 32 per cent. seats for Muslims, 42·3 per cent. for Sikhs, 2 per cent. for Indian Christians and one seat for Anglo-Indians in connection with British Indian provincial seats.

Joint Electorates.

It has been agreed that all elections shall be through joint electorates, but for a period of ten years a modified form of Maulana Mohammed Ali's formula shall be in force. The formula is that out of candidates securing 30 per cent. votes polled of his community, one who gets the highest number of

total votes polled on the joint electoral rolls shall be elected. If there is no candidate securing 30 per cent. votes polled of his community, then out of two candidates securing the highest number of votes of their community, one who secures the highest number of votes polled will be declared elected. If any community wishes to give up the system in favour of pure joint electorates in any province, it shall be at liberty to do so and after 10 years the arrangement will automatically yield place to pure joint electorates.

Trial of Muslim Cases.

The question that Muslim cases of marriage and divorce should be tried by Qazis has been referred to a committee which will report to the unity sub-committee.

Sind.

Sind has been agreed to be formed into a separate province subject to certain safeguards for the Hindus, *i.e.*, 37 per cent. representation in the Legislature, joint responsibility of ministry and inclusion of at least one Hindu in the Sind Cabinet. After 10 years if the Hindus so desire the reservation of seats for them shall be on the population basis and they shall have the right to contest additional seats. 60 per cent. of the seats to public posts will be filled by open competition on the basis of merit alone and 40% will be reserved for redressing communal inequalities. A Conference of Sind leaders met in January, 1933, to appoint a committee which considered ways and means for making good the deficit disclosed in the Brayne Report and considered the question of placing the Report of the committee before the people of Sind.

Punjab.

The Punjab Cabinet will include at least one Hindu and one Sikh member. If any legislative or administrative

measure undertaken by the Ministry, which will be jointly responsible, will be objected to by more than $\frac{3}{4}$ ths of the members of all the minority communities as being discriminatory or injuriously affecting their interests, it can be withdrawn by the Ministry. Failing that, it will be referred to a Tribunal whose decision will be binding upon the Ministry and the latter will vacate office if it does not accept the findings of the Tribunal. The seats for special constituencies shall be reserved as follows :—

For Muslims 51%.

For Hindus 27% .

For Sikhs 20%.

For Indian Christians, 3 seats.

For Anglo-Indians and Europeans, 1 seat.

The total number of seats of the Council is to be 200.

Bengal.

In Bengal there shall be joint electorates with reservation of seats. The Muslims will get 51% of the seats and the Hindus and others included in the general electorates will get 44.7% including in both cases seats for special constituencies. Reservation of seats and special constituencies will be only for 10 years. In this case the Muslims want a reservation of 51% irrespective of the fact that the Anglo-Indians and European Commercial interests may or may not agree to reduction of their seats which the Bengal Hindus are not prepared to accept. Negotiations are proceeding with the latter on this point.

An analysis of the agreement shows that it falls short of the ideal as unadulterated joint electorates have not been immediately agreed upon and communalism has been imported to some extent in the public services, in the appointment of Provincial Public Service Commissions and in the

formation of Cabinets. It has nonetheless to be admitted that the agreement provides the best basis for communal unity and has been endorsed by all parties except a few dissentients who do not count much. This does not apply to the case of Bengal where negotiations are not yet over. It should be remembered that complete unanimity and endorsement by all members of all possible organizations can never be possible. To reject the agreement simply because it has not been endorsed by a few Muslim communalists is wrong, because such a unanimity has never been secured to any measure in the history of the world and we have no reason to judge the welcome accorded to the Pact with reference to an impossible test.

It is also true that it involves a tinge of communalism, but that tinge is to disappear automatically after a period of 10 years. The agreement is a decided improvement upon the Communal Award of the Prime Minister which failed to satisfy any community whatsoever except perhaps the British Commercial interests in Bengal. As Mr. C. Vijiaraghava-chariar said in his speech at Allahabad on December 23, 1932, "We must consider the present movement (the Unity Conference) in two aspects. They are the spirit of unity and the mechanical adjustment based on it in view of the Premier's award and the coming constitution. I need hardly say that the former aspect is by far the most valuable. This is permanent while the other is transient and intended to be modified from time to time."

The Unity decisions are very favourable to the Muslims and Mr. Jinna's 13 points have been fully conceded to them and the demands of their Lucknow Conference have also been given to Muslims and their representatives will not be chosen by the majority community solely and it was because of this grievance of theirs that it was provided in the agreement that a successful Muslim candidate must secure at least 30% of the votes polled of his community. There is no reason now for the Muslims to reject the agreement and it is a matter of

great satisfaction that all the important Muslim representative organizations have accepted it.

There is no doubt about the fact that the Hindus have been called upon to make the greatest sacrifice according to the terms of the agreement. Touching on this aspect of the agreement, the President of the Unity Conference in his speech referred to above remarked, "Now, my Hindu brothers and sisters, let me admit to you at once that the sacrifice we are making is the greatest.....considered merely subjectively, it is a great sacrifice that we are making but this sacrifice we are making is a self-sacrifice spontaneously made with a view to recreate the Indian nation and in this view I have no hesitation in adding that it will elevate and integrate the Hindu community in the process. We must not forget that ours was a nation which welcomed, protected and admitted to a footing of equality the persecuted Jews, Christians and Parsees. The soul of ancient India so long hibernating owing to abnormal times and conditions is now up in all its purity, vigour and grandeur and it is our sacred duty to recognize this great phenomenon and glory in it too."

The question of Bengal is not yet settled. The Muslims in demanding 51% representation in the Bengal Council irrespective of the fact whether the Anglo-Indians may or may not be persuaded to give up a few of their seats have no doubt gone back upon the position they took in November on this issue at Allahabad. Their attitude is unjustifiable specially when important Hindus of Bengal are reported to have told them that the latter will do their best to get for them their 51% quota of seats. The Muslims should also remember that they did not get statutory majority in Bengal under the Premier's Award. If they persist in this attitude and if the ship of India's unity dashes against the Bengal rock and founders, the Muslims will stand to blame. They will have separate electorates everywhere and the Premier's Award will stand, but the whole country will suffer, for as Pt.

Madan Mohan Malaviya remarked in his November speech at Allahabad, "If we allow this decision to stand and do not come to an agreement, you have separate electorates, but you have not the power either in the provinces or in the centre. You will not have the power to touch the army. You will not have power over the finances. You will not be able to build up national activities in the different directions. You will continue to be in the unfortunate and deplorable position in which you are." The Hindus of Bengal in accepting the position apparently stand to lose, but in reality that is not so. They should eventually agree because in agreeing to 51 % representation for Muslims, they have agreed to the principle. The difference is regarding details of procedure in securing this majority for the Muslims and the Hindus, if they yield, will not be worse off than under the Award of the Prime Minister. The surrender would do them no harm, while hesitation on their part involves a suicidal and disastrous abdication of sacred functions and duties in this great national crisis. If the decision is agreed upon, the Prime Minister, it is hoped, will accept it as a substitute for his Award and then all parties will stand to gain.

The noble efforts made by Pt. Malaviya and others at unity should not be allowed to be frustrated merely on the Bengal question and the leaders will no doubt exercise their personal influence in Bengal in persuading the people there to accept the unity decisions. Never before in the history of India was there such enthusiasm and spirit of sacrifice in the various communities as at the present juncture. If the unity is not achieved now, this opportunity once allowed to slip away may not come for long. It is this point that should be kept in view in discussions on the Bengal question by the parties affected. In the eventuality of unity proposals being ratified, the Premier is bound by the terms of his Award to accept the decision.

KRISHNA KUMAR SHARMA

DIVINE IMMANENCE AND HUMAN FREEDOM

Of all the objects of God's creation, man is the highest and holiest in as much as he was created in God's own image and so above all beings he is required to manifest in a pre-eminent degree the highest attributes of his creator—the God within him in whom he lives, moves and has his being. But though created in God's own image, man has his limitations and imperfections, though these are not permanent barriers to his progress, but only serve as incentives to the same. Men are not so many machines, but spirits—they

“ Look before and after
And pine for what is not.”

This search for ‘ what is not ’ impels man to work and without it he would have been as lifeless as a lump of clay or a log of wood, without any desires to fulfil or evils to fight. In short, man is not a damned creature of God, but has in him infinite possibilities by realising which he can ascend to the kingdom of God and find a place by His side.

My remark that by a proper use of his powers man can realise the divine in him—nay, he may even become one with God is liable to misinterpretation. The critic may observe: “ How can the finite become one with the infinite, when the latter always eludes the former's grasp ? ” But I should like to meet my critic by saying that the Infinite does not elude our grasp if we only know how to seek for Him. There is no unbridgeable gulf between the finite and the Infinite, as the former is only a partial manifestation of the latter. To put the matter more precisely, we may say, that the finite is the shadow and the Infinite the reality. But the shadow is meaningless without the reality and the former exists only because the latter casts it. So the objection that the finite

can never attain to the Infinite is indeed based on a misunderstanding of the real nature of the finite. Once we realise that the finite derives its very existence from the Infinite, the false antithesis between the finite and the Infinite disappears and we are convinced that we can attain to the Infinite only if we know how to seek for Him. The Infinite will elude our grasp so long as we believe in our false independence and cling to our baser passions and selfish desires. But the moment we realise that the lower self is not our real self and that it is the veil which hides our real self, we no longer cling to our baser passions and selfish desires, but seek for our real good which the realisation of our true self alone can give. In fact, in such a moment when we realise our utter helplessness, we no longer boast of our seeming independence, but calmly and cheerfully submit to the will of the Infinite, who alone can give us perfection and happiness. This is why Hinduism ascribes the three attributes of Sat (goodness), Chit (reality), and Anandam (bliss) to the Infinite whom it calls Brahman.

Having realised the unreality of the antithesis between the finite and the Infinite, let us turn to the next question : whether man has freedom to will and if so, whether such freedom is compatible with divine Immanence in the world process.

Let us begin by inquiring about the philosophical significance of the word 'immanence.' Does it signify identity, pure and simple, or is it something else ? When I say A is immanent in B, do I really mean that A and B are the same thing or I simply mean that though A is in B, A is not B alone but something more than B ; or to put the same thing otherwise, B is not the whole of A, but only a part of it. In fact, the word 'immanence' cannot signify identity pure and simple because there cannot be any such thing as pure identity. Even identity implies difference as we shall shortly see. When I say A is identical with B, I do not mean that A and

B are identical in all respects or that there is no difference whatsoever between A and B. As a matter of fact, no two things can be identical in the sense of pure unity, because such identity would make knowledge impossible. If Reality would have been pure unity without difference, such a Reality would have been unknown and unknowable. The distinction between the subject and the object, the knower and the known can never be obliterated as without it knowledge itself becomes impossible. Even in those states of our soul when we stand face to face with God and realise our utter helplessness before Him, the distinction between the knower and the known remains in some form, though such distinction is not sharp enough to make us despair of attaining to the object of our worship.

So when I say that God is immanent in the world process, I do not mean that He is lost in the world process or that he and the world are one in all respects. Crude Pantheism points not to the ultimate unity of God and the world, but to the close identification of the two. It is why Pantheism is unacceptable as a philosophical theory, the proper theory being Pantheism. It is Pantheism alone which says that God is both immanent and transcendent—that He is in the world process and yet not the world process alone, but much more than that.

The true meaning of Divine Immanence seems to be fully brought out in the Hindu conception of God as Brahma, Vishnu and Siva. As Brahma, He creates the world, as Vishnu, He redeems it and as Siva, He judges it. These three attributes of creation, redemption and judgment are inseparable from one another and form the fundamental aspects of the creative process.

The Hindu says : " God is everywhere. He is present in all things though according to degrees." As Sir Radhakrishnan puts it : " Hindu thought is not afraid of asserting the presence of God in all things. It has no faith in a

transcendent God distinct from the world, living in a monotonous solitude of His own."

The Vedantic formula 'Tat tvam asi,' 'That art thou,' is not to be interpreted as gross pantheism. It only points to the essential unity of the self with Brahman, to the divine origin of man in whom the divine spark shines at all times and under all circumstances. No doubt the divine spirit does not manifest in all men equally and as a matter of fact it cannot be so. To say that all men are equally divine is to obliterate all distinctions between the good and the wicked, the wheat and the chaff and assert the unreality of spiritual progress. Turning next to the question of human freedom, we find that it is not inconsistent with the omnipotence and omniscience of God. Freedom is the essential nature of man as spirit. We momentarily feel that we are free to choose. The cards are laid bare before us and it is for us to select from amongst them. Man is free to choose—he can lay his hand on the good or the evil as he pleases. To deny freedom to man on the ground that it is inconsistent with God's omnipotence is to place the axe at the very root of the tree of morality. Do we not feel the stings of conscience and the pangs of repentance when we go off the right course? How could we feel repentant for our wrong-doings, if we were not morally free? The very fact that we repent for our unrighteous ways—nay, the very fact that we recognise such ways to be unrighteous, shows that good and evil, virtue and vice are in our keeping and that we can direct ourselves as we please. Every man is free to will—he can choose good ways and become divine or he can identify himself with his lower self of passions and prejudices and degrade himself to the level of beasts. The higher we rise in the ladder of progress, the nearer we approach to God. The union of the divine and the mortal in the persons of Jesus, Krishna, Buddha, Muhammad and many other saints clearly shows that there is a community of nature between man and God. The man who

lives in God is not afraid of identifying his personality with that of God and saying: "I am Brahman" and "Brahman is I."

God is the indwelling spirit of the universe.—He is the 'Natura Naturans' of Spinoza, but though He is the ultimate background of the Universe, He does not consume the Universe. As Brahma, he freely creates; as Vishnu, He redeems the objects of His creation and as Siva, He judges them. He creates the Universe not that He needs it or would be imperfect without it, but because He gives free play to His eternal activity. Having created the Universe, He also redeems it and distributes rewards and punishments to His creatures according to their merits or demerits. God is not an irrational being who can do and undo anything by His divine fiat. If there are laws of Nature, there are also laws of God. He is a just distributor and not an all-powerful despot, as Calvinist theology represents Him to be. How can God who is the very heart of love be supposed to select some people for salvation and send others to eternal perdition by His capricious will? If He is the very embodiment of goodness, love and justice "exceeding abundantly above all we can ask or think" how can we think of Him as distributing rewards and punishments in His creatures according to His capricious will?

The Hindu rightly believes that men enjoy happiness or suffer pain according to their karma. Just as the laws of the physical world are unalterable, so are the laws of the spiritual world. There are Christian thinkers like Dr. Martineau and others who find it difficult to believe in the law of Karma and re-birth, as they think that no man can be held responsible for what he did in his former life, as rewards and punishments can be based only on conscious doings and as no man has any knowledge of what he did or did not in a life prior to the present life, there cannot be any question of atoning for the sins of the past life. Dr. Martineau's objection to the law of Karma is indeed based on a misunderstanding. True, it is

that man can be punished only for his conscious doings, but were not the actions done by a man in his past life done consciously with a full knowledge of their consequences? The law of Karma is not a mechanical law as Christian thinkers think it to be. It is the law of moral causation and it alone can account for the inequalities that we see among men in the world. The Hindu believes that God is no respecter of persons and that all men must equally pay for their sins.

The Christian doctrine of Atonement in the person of Jesus who sacrificed his life for the sake of fallen humanity is opposed to the law of Karma. The Hindu finds it difficult to subscribe to the proposition of one man suffering for another man's sins, as it makes the moral order of the Universe unreal by keeping men under the happy illusion that however much they may go on sinning, they would be ultimately saved by the saving grace of God.

God can save only the sincerely repentant and those who have given up their evil ways. To think that however much one may go on sinning, he will be ultimately saved by the saving grace of God, is to make God's justice a mockery. As Sir Radhakrishnan puts it: "That one should suffer for another's sins is intelligible, whatever be its validity. But does not the situation become paradoxical, if not grotesque, when the sinner complacently accepts that another should suffer for his sin? The view deludes the unthinking into the false notion that they might continue their careers of crime, for God would some day send some angel or Son of His to bear the sin of the world. The way in which orthodox Christian doctrine regards the suffering and death of Jesus, the guiltless victim, is conceivable, only if God were a well-made weighing machine. According to the Hindu view love of God and effort on the part of man are both necessary for moral growth."

PRAFULLAPRAN CHANGKAKTI

THE CHILD WORKER IN INDIA

In spite of the fact that during the last decade we have had several legal enactments designed in some manner or other to protect the interests of the Indian working classes, but little has as yet been done to give adequate protection to children of tender years who are still engaged in industrial occupations. In other countries the very idea of the legal protection of labour arose from the circumstance that, during the earlier phases of industry, women and children were being ruthlessly exploited to such an extent as to seriously menace the future of the industrial population in those countries. The protection of adults followed only later on, when it began to be perceived that, if the protection of children was justified on the ground that they were not in a position, because of their tender years and consequent lack of experience, to strike a bargain on equal terms, then the economic weakness of the working classes in general also constituted a powerful argument for the state to step in and enforce certain minimum conditions in adult labour contracts.

In this country, however, affairs seem to have taken a somewhat different course. All that has yet been done for the protection of the child worker in India may be summed up as follows. Under the Indian Factories Act of 1922, the daily hours of the children are limited to six, and a rest period of half an hour is obligatory if their daily hours of work exceed $5\frac{1}{2}$ hours; and no child should be required to work continuously for more than 4 hours. The Act further prohibits the employment of children for a period of $10\frac{1}{2}$ hours during the night; and no child can be employed in more than one factory on the same day. Under the Act children are persons between the ages of 12 and 15. The extent of protection thus granted

has been considerably widened owing to the generous manner in which the provincial governments have employed the powers given to them under section (II) (3) (B) of the Factories Act, the main object of which was to protect children even in small factories which but for the local Governments' notifications under the clause above, would have remained outside the scope of the Act. In addition to these provisions of the Factories Act, the Indian Government has also passed an Act to prohibit the employment of children under 12 in ports. The Indian Mines Act of 1923 prohibits the employment of children under 13. All these legislative changes were the direct result of India's association with the I. L. O., and the Indian Acts have only given partial effect to some of the recommendations of the International Labour Conferences.

Now the protection granted by the above Acts covers only three points. The first concerns the age of admission of Indian children into industrial employment, which is now fixed at 12. The second deals with the number of hours per day during which they might be permitted to work, and the third point is about employers being prohibited to employ children during the night. Important as all these three points are, it cannot be gainsaid that the present legislation as regards the work of children still leaves a great deal to be desired. For one thing it must be remembered that the present protection extends only to "factories" within the meaning of the Indian Factories Act. However lax might be the administration of the Factories Act, still the possibility of Factory inspectors unexpectedly entering the factory premises for inspection has undoubtedly acted as a powerful check against the illegal exploitation of child labour in these factories. But, we must not forget that, in the present state of India's industrial development, the number of "factories" which come under the definition of Factories Act is still extremely limited; the result is that the fraction of child

workers who are protected under the existing legislation is infinitesimally small, to render that protection more universal, it is imperative that it should be extended to a much wider category of juvenile workers. The evidence elicited by the Whitely Commission has brought to light the heartless manner in which child labour is being exploited in the numerous smaller industrial establishments which are outside the purview of the Indian Factories Act. In seasonal and unregulated factories children are exposed to much untold misery and suffering which the Indian Factories Act can at present do but little to abate or eliminate. Speaking of the unregulated factories where any number of workers may be employed, even as many as seven or eight hundred, the Whitley Commission has noted the preponderance of the labour of under-aged children, *i.e.*, children well below the regulation age of 12, for such workers in factories coming under the Factories Act. By way of illustrating the evils associated with the employment of children in these unregulated factories, the Commission refers in some detail to the numerous industrial establishments set up in various parts of India for mica cutting and splitting, wool cleaning, shellac manufacture, *beedi*-making, carpet-weaving and leather-tanning. In the mica factories nearly 30% of the workers are children. Quite small children are employed, the only control over their work being their own ability to use the sharp knife necessary for splitting mica. The following extracts from the evidence taken by the Commission in the mica-mining area of Bihar and Orissa is typical.

"We were rather struck with the number of young children whom we saw. Is there any lower limit of the age of a child whom you take into employment?"—"There is no lower limit.....we say the children may come if they like and they will get so much per pound for the mica they split. If they do not make too much waste, we let them go on."

"That is the only control there is?"—"Yes."

“We have just come from a factory where we saw a large number of small children employed.”—“Children go there to learn the art of splitting. If they do not learn it in their infancy, they do not become very good splitters.”

“A regulation prohibiting the employment of children under 12 would mean that they would have to learn it at a later age, from 12-15 instead of, say, from 7-12?”—“If one wants to learn the art of splitting well, one should begin learning it in one’s youth.”

(Member of the Commission): “That is an argument that has been used through the ages in respect of every increase in the age at which children may be employed.”

The condition of children in the *beedi* factories is not much better. Accommodated any how in crowded groups in filthy ill-ventilated rooms the atmosphere of which is laden with dust and disease-germs, these children work all through the day and often late at night with the help of the murky and smoky indigenous lantern. The Commission was convinced that this was a sweated industry on the basis of extremely low wages and extremely long hours. Speaking of the condition of children in this industry, the Commission observe:

“The paramount matter for concern in a number of areas, particularly in the Madras Presidency, is the question of child (*i. e.*, boy) labour. In many cities large numbers of young boys are employed for long hours and discipline is strict. Indeed there is reason to believe that corporal punishment and other disciplinary measures of a reprehensible kind are sometimes resorted to in the case of the smaller children. Workers as young as five years of age may be found in some of these places working without adequate meal-intervals or weekly rest-day and often for ten or twelve hours daily for sums as low as two annas in the case of those of tenderest years. This recalls some of the worst features of child apprenticeship in England prior to the passing of the first

Factory Act, particularly when it is realised that many of the parents of these child workers are in debt to the employers. As a result they are not in a position to inquire too closely into the treatment meted out to their children or to do other than return an absconding child. Although it is impossible to give even an approximate figure of the numbers of such child workers in the provinces where this type of labour is most prevalent, we are confident from the evidence submitted to us, as well as from our own personal observations, that it is sufficiently large in certain areas to constitute an evil which demands immediate remedy."

It is possible to multiply instances of this kind taken from other unregulated factories. But there is one feature in the child labour situation which is even more revolting than all the others put together. The long hours, the low wages, the insanitary conditions and absence of social amenities, the absolute non-provision of any arrangements for educating the child-worker or looking after his health, bad as all these are they pale into insignificance when compared with the system of child slavery which is even now a part of India's industrial system. It is some consolation to remark that once the attention of the public was directed to this enormity by the Whitley Commission, the Government of India have been prompt in taking action to put a speedy end to it. The Bill for the abolition of the pledging of child labour which Sir Frank Noyce introduced in the Legislative Assembly on the 5th September, 1932, is an assurance to us that the Government of India are not likely to defer action on the other equally urgent recommendations of the Whitley Commission. Evidences of this kind of child slavery were found in such widely separated areas as Amritsar, Ahmedabad, and Madras. What made the offence take on an even darker hue was the fact that these children thus sold to slavery are usually subjected to particularly unsatisfactory working conditions. To quote the Commission's own words, "where the child is not the son

of a near relative of the weaving master, he is normally the child of a man who, in return for a loan of money from the weaving master, contracts out the labour of his child at so many rupees (7-9 etc., according to the age of the child) per month. The duration of the contract which is sometimes set out in a formal document, would appear to be determined by the repayment of the loan...It was clear to us from the evidence that these children were in the position of being obliged to work any number of hours per day required of them by their masters. They were without the protection of the law as regards their physical fitness to labour, the number of hours they might be required to work without any intervals, or indeed any of the more elementary protections afforded by the Factories Act in respect of child workers, and they were subjected in some cases to corporal punishment...We are convinced that here, as in the *bidi* factories, official regulation is required primarily in the interests of the child workers." The factory-owners shelter themselves behind the opposition of the master weavers to any restriction in hours, and the children continue their blind-alley occupations. On the normal-sized loom, there are four workers, the master weaver, a boy of 14, and two boys under 12. In this connection it will be remembered that the I. L. O. started in 1922 an investigation into the working conditions of children in the Kerman carpet industry in Persia, and as a result of the inequities thus revealed, prompt remedial measures were taken by the Persian Government. The results of child labour in the Amritsar industry were identical, and a doctor practising in Amritsar has found evidences of deteriorated physique among the carpet factory children including deformation and abnormal curvatures in the legs and back from sitting for long hours in cramped positions.

There is yet one more feature associated with child labour in India to which reference must be made. Dewan Chaman Lall in his book "Coolie" cites the case of the Rt.

Honourable V. Srinivasa Sastri having discovered in the days when he was a school master, that in the house adjoining his own a large number of children used to go in every day; sometimes at night he used to hear their pitiful cries. On making enquiries, he found that the adjoining house was a lace-factory in which little children of tender years were made to work unusually long hours. The cries he heard were caused by the administration of the whip to these children when, owing to extreme exhaustion, their heads were bent in sleep. The Labour Commission observes that "corporal punishment of the children and other disciplinary measures of a reprehensible kind are sometimes resorted to in these factories." It is an open secret, as has been brought out in the evidence taken by the Commission, that even adult workers are not spared this kind of humiliation; and we can, therefore, imagine what degree of protection the little mites could have against their tyrannical employers.

In making their recommendations as regards unregulated factories, the Commission refers to the workers in them as "the least protected and the most helpless of the workers of India," and there can be no doubt that an extremely strong case has been made out for the extension of legal protection to this class of workers and especially to the children engaged in the industries cited above. Nor is this all. The conditions prevailing in the non-industrial occupations are, if anything, more harmful to mind and body. If you go into any bazaar in India, you cannot fail to be struck by the large number of children who are there employed as salesmen's assistants, porters and general servants. In any attempt to regulate conditions in non-industrial occupations, the main trouble would be to select the categories of occupations to which any set of regulations might apply. An analysis of the various national laws on this subject would reveal that the non-industrial occupations upon which some restriction or other has so far been placed in so far as child labour is concerned,

are divisible into two main groups : (1) *general employment*, i.e., in any occupation not specifically referred to by name in the law ; and (2) *special occupations*, or those which, because they are dangerous or unhealthy, or may endanger morals or education, or for some other reason, are subjected to special treatment. Non-industrial occupations are not regulated to the same extent as is industrial work ; and that for obvious reasons ; and it is only in about 17 countries that *general employment* is regulated. Nevertheless, among the various countries of the world, we have to-day a considerable body of laws on the subject, covering most of the matters in need of regulation. If there is a certain lack of uniformity in these laws, in contrast with the uniformity that exists among the various national systems of industrial law, the variations in the former case may be ascribed partly to the diversity of non-industrial occupations, and partly to the absence of any definite standard such as those set for industry, agriculture, and maritime work by the Conventions of the I. L. O. In the special occupations above referred to, in which State Regulation is more universal, such occupations usually include employment in commerce, shops and offices, public entertainments, street trading, bars, public houses, hotels, etc., and all that we would require in India is some sort of a simple regulation to secure the health, education, physical fitness and morals of the juvenile worker and to safeguard the child's pecuniary profits. The Whitley Commission was precluded from its terms of reference from enquiring into conditions in non-industrial occupations ; otherwise we might have had much useful light thrown on this now obscure subject ; and arguing on the analogy of other countries, we could have expected some urgent recommendations on the lines already adumbrated. The International Labour Office has now supplied us with valuable guidance in the matter, and Article 9 of the Draft Convention concerning the minimum age of admission of children in non-industrial

employment tentatively prescribes ten as the minimum age for Indian children for admission into the "general employment" category, and fourteen for admission into the "special employment" category, consisting of occupations considered dangers to life, health or morals. Liberal exceptions are provided to meet the special conditions prevailing in India; and it must be remembered that this Article was passed by the last International Labour Conference after a vigorous and exhaustive discussion initiated by the representatives of the Government of India; and that the special circumstances in India have thus been fully taken into account by that body. It is therefore to be hoped that the Government of India will ratify this Convention as early as possible as the first item in their new programme to protect "the most helpless section" in India's labour population.

There can be no doubt that the speediest way to ensure the well-being of India's juvenile workers is the adoption by the Government of India of the programme already sketched by the I. L. O. From the outset the International Labour Organisation was expressly required by its constitution to take an active interest in this problem; the Preamble to Part XIII of the Peace Treaty lays down, in the list of objects to be dealt with by the Organisation, "the protection of children and young persons" as well as that of women, and the sixth principle set forth in Article 427 of the Peace Treaty is as follows :

"The abolition of child labour and the imposition of such limits on the labour of young persons as shall permit the continuation of their education and assure their proper physical development."

As early as 1919, during the First Session at Washington, the Conference adopted a first Draft Convention concerning the minimum age for admission of children to industrial employment, which was fixed at fourteen years. But it was declared at Washington that "the Conference should

pronounce in favour of the limitation of the age of admission to agricultural, commercial and other occupations." And, in fact, a second Convention was adopted at Genoa in 1920, which also limited to fourteen years the minimum age of admission of children to employment at sea. A third Convention, adopted at Geneva in 1921, prohibited the employment of children of less than fourteen years of age in agricultural employment save outside the hours fixed for school attendance. A fourth Convention, adopted in the same year, prohibited the employment as trimmers and stokers of young persons under eighteen years of age. And finally, we have a fifth Convention adopted at Geneva in 1932 to regulate the admission of children into non-industrial occupations.

It is time that the various organisations in India interested in the welfare of children started a "children's crusade" to bring about the removal of the various industrial evils alluded to in the course of this article. Apart from the fact that the Indian child-worker is a veritable poem of pity, we must remind ourselves that no industrial system under which wealth accumulates and humanity deteriorates can stand a country in good stead in the long run. The fortunes of our civilisation, as Prof. L. P. Jacks has told us, depend in the major degree on the character, ethical and economic, of its industry. Let us agree to wipe out this blotch on the fair name of Indian Industry, and thus give ourselves the assurance that we shall not forget ethical considerations in our pursuit of national wealth.

P. P. PILLAI

SOME ASPECTS OF IBSEN STUDY

"I will let in fresh air," says Lona in *The Pillars of Society* and that appears to be the life endeavour of Ibsen. He felt that the atmosphere of the world was too close and stuffy, and as such he determined to knock out the walls if windows were not possible. It is not that he was the first to have perceived this insistent need of the Soul. Others had felt before him, the first outburst coming in the form of the French Revolution. This taught people to appreciate the beauty and dignity that is in the face of every created being, against the aristocratic values of life. Then came the great European cataclysm of 1848, resulting in a Dano-German War of 1864 and a cultural movement known as *kulterkunf* in Germany dislodging old and worn-out ideas of Christianity. It was at this time that Sören Kierkegard was tilting against the collective or family instinct of man. Darwin was recreating the general outlook on life by his philosophy of Evolution. Himself choked by falsehoods of the world and nurtured on such ideas, Ibsen rightly tried to knock out the walls and fill the lungs of humanity with fresh air.

It is sometimes suggested and on the strength of the author's own statement that his business was only to question and not to answer, *i.e.*, his art was merely destructive and he could not give anything of real value to the world. But it appears that this is not wholly true. He no doubt destroyed with fury and it was in this din and dust that one lost sight of the silhouette of his beautiful edifice. There was construction even in the very method of destruction. Science may heighten the pleasures of our physical life, but it cannot give peace and happiness to the soul. For it something else is necessary and that is Love. Ibsen again and again suggested, which none else

had done with equal emphasis, that Love is not only the panacea for the ills of life, but the only lever to raise you up to your godly height. A storm-tossed despairing man may have his haven in love; a wicked man may have his dross transformed into gold by love. Peer Gynt having led the wildest form of life thought he was lost for ever, and when he came back at last staggering into the presence of Solveig, he asked her in his desperation where he was. She says, "In my faith, in my hope, and in my love." Her life was made as beautiful as a song in his expectation and he found eternal peace in her lap. A fallen creature like Krogstad becomes noble as soon as he wins the hand of Mrs. Linden and out of sheer charity he returns the forged document to Nora with which he had so much persecuted her. Johan wins Dina and returns the letters to Bernick with which he could make a hell of his life. Stensgard returns the forged bill to Chamberlain Brastsberg in the hope of getting Thora. Ibsen thus not only definitely and positively propounded this theory of the ennobling and vitalising power of love, he also unhesitatingly showed that want of love or imperfect love was the real source of tragedy in life. Helmer intensely suffered, because he had never loved Nora truly, he had never given his whole to her. John Gabriel Borkman became a wreck of life, because he had sacrificed true love of Ella and married her sister Gunhild for position and power. Hedda Gabler, in spite of all her grace and fascination, could not love truly and she perished in her own hands. Ibsen penetrated deeper. Some sceptic might have risen and cried—Is the love of a woman essential? Men may love beauty in another form, say Nature or Art, and will not that suffice? Ibsen unequivocally said 'No' in his last play *When We Dead Awaken*. Professor Rubek got a model of his choice in Irene and he sculptured a figure in her likeness calling it Resurrection. This Irene had stood before him in all her young naked loveliness. He had gazed upon her and glorified her in his art.

But when the work was finished, he simply said, "Well now, Irene, I thank you from my heart. This has been a priceless *episode* for me." The girl at once left him. That piece of sculpture made him famous throughout the world. But when he attempted another with different other models, he failed hopelessly. The life in him was gone. He became dead to all intents and purposes. He married but to no use. In one of his wanderings, he met Irene again, the ghost of her former self, one who had stood naked, for show, on hundreds of platforms. But the meeting brings life into them again. She had been seeking him and he her, though unconsciously. She accuses him of an indifference worthy of an *artist*, but unworthy of a *man*. She says she gave him her "Young, living soul" and that left her empty within. She complains "when I had served you with my soul and with my body, when the statue stood there finished—then I laid at your feet the most precious sacrifice of all—by effacing myself for all time." "And you, the artist," she continues, "had so lightly and carelessly taken a warm-blooded body, a young human life and worn the soul out of it, because you needed it for a work of art. I hate the artist and in you most of all. When I unclothed myself and stood for you, then I hated you, because you could stand there so unmoved, or at any rate, so intolerably self-controlled. And because you were an artist and artist only and not a man! We two let slip all that life and its beauty." Prof. Rubek says that he indeed forfeited *life* and he saw it clearly when he awoke again in the loving presence of Irene. Art or Nature may be good, but the "love that belongs to the life of Earth—the beautiful and miraculous life of Earth, the inscrutable life of Earth," that is indispensable for life. And Woman, embodiment as she is of all the grace and sweetness that is in creation, is the fittest object of love for man. Hence the playwright's repeated attempts to adjust the relationship between Man and Woman.

Comilla Collet, a frail unhappy-girl, had noticed the festering condition of love and she had raised a meek voice of protest in her *The Sheriff's Daughters*. Bjoernson took up the subject and brought it to the forefront by demanding the same moral standard for women as for men. Ibsen was awfully pained and he began operating upon society with the unfeeling but steady hand of a skilled surgeon. He tore off the crust of lie that had settled upon life and exposed the rotting wound of humanity. The world was convulsed and heaped execrations upon him. Ibsen established in Nora that a woman was not a doll, a squirrel, a lark,—she was a human being, first of all, then a wife and a mother. Helmer could not keep her, for he could not give her freedom, the birth-right of every human being, and she left him waiting with gaping eagerness for 'the miracle of miracles.' In *Ghosts*, Mrs. Alving is made to live a life of shame in legal marriage for the sake of respectability, but this show of hollow respectability ends in her complete spiritual ruin. In these Ibsen clearly demonstrated that shows and appearances lead but to the paralysis of the soul which is the real thing. Love to endure and to glorify must be based on the solid rock of truth and freedom, and then alone life can have its bliss. In *The Lady from the Sea*, Ellida although married to Doctor Wangel and having two daughters, still longed and yearned for a stranger from the sea. The stranger came and offered to take her away and so long the doctor tried to prevent her from leaving him she showed her determination to get away. But when he gave her right to choose and with responsibility, she at once became his, heart and soul, and dismissed the stranger for ever. When Wangel asked what caused the transformation in her, she replied, "Oh, do you not understand that the transformation came—that it had to come—when I could choose in freedom." If freedom is essential in love, truth is not less so. Mutual confession and absolution and absolute frankness are the only solid rock on which the edifice of true marriage can

be reared. Ibsen therefore very cleverly hints that couples like Mrs. Linden and Krogstad, Mrs. Sorby and Werle are alone expected to have happy conjugal lives. Hialmer and Gina are made "to help each other" and bear the sorrows of life together after Hialmer had known everything about Gina's past and after Gina had given him freedom to leave her if he chose.

Ibsen's principle of love is such as will hold good in all times and climes, but the details will be hardly understood by Indian women who rarely have any 'past.' But even among them, who would not like to be a Nora to shake off a doll's life and become a human being?

Having established for once that love can flourish only on freedom and truth, he goes on to prove its infinite power of transfiguration and sacrifice. Rebecca West, in *Rosmersholm*, a scheming girl holding advanced views comes to Rosmer, a clergyman of a very high and ancient family to win him over to her own side, so that her cause might get an unbounded impetus. She comes and falls in love with him who was already devoted to his wife Beata. West makes Beata to believe that her husband loves her. Beata with a view to make her husband happy throws herself into a stream and leaves the way free for him. Rosmer knew nothing about the plot and after her death which was supposed to be accidental realised that he had actually loved West. When later on, it came to light that West was the real cause of the death of Beata, Rosmer could not possibly marry her; but life without her seemed empty. He proposes to throw himself also into the stream. West transfigured by his truthfulness and devotion forgot her cause, forgot herself; both went and perished, arm in arm, together.

Religions may look askance at all such relationships, but Ibsen did not care a straw for them. He knows they are based on creeds and shams. He wants truth to invest life with beauty and happiness. These legal or religious marriages do

not mean anything, they are only temporary states, unless they have something better than paper parchments to sustain them. Nora leaves her wedded husband in the teeth of all moral homilies. Mrs. Alving is prepared to marry her son to his half-sister Regina. Ellida defies her husband and openly yearned to meet her lover, a stranger from the sea. Rebecca truly loves the married Rosmer. Prof. Rubek even hates the name of his wife Maia and proposes to live happily and beautifully with his model Irene. To crown all, Erhart takes away two girls with him, Mrs. Fanny Wilton and Miss Frida Foldal and begins life with them. When Fanny was asked if she acted wisely in taking that girl Frida with her, she calmly and considerately replies—"Men are so unstable, Mrs. Borkman. And women too. When Erhart is done with me—and I with him—then it will be well for us both that he, poor fellow, should have some one to fall back upon." When asked again what she would do herself, she said "Oh I shall know what to do, I assure you."

From all these it is increasingly clear what Ibsen's conception of love and marriage was and what amount of truth and freedom he wanted in order to make life happy and beautiful. Naturally he shocked the old world and he was persecuted and cursed, but such has been the fate of prophets.

Shaw refers in *The Philanderer* to an Ibsen club of which 'womanly women' could not be members. Others also might suppose that Ibsen's women with so much of rebelliousness in them could be anything but sweet or graceful. But Ibsen depicts all women to be deep-rooted in the Eve who could coax, cajol and flirt, and at the same time a New Woman, sick of the veil of soul-killing conventions and longing furiously to emerge a human being, pure, loving and sublime. Ibsen was convinced that this man-made world was rotten. He was out to recreate the world with the help of Super-Woman, as Shaw subsequently wanted to do it

with the help of Super-Man. He felt choked in the society "which is not a human society," as he said, "but a society of males." He wanted to make it human and healthy. He wanted to let in fresh air.

It is not only his interpretation of life that is original and fresh, but the method of the presentation of the theme is equally unique. Apart from the high and unbroken seriousness that informs even his comic characters like old Hialmer, apart from the dire grimness of situations and the lightning revelations of life that have replaced the ordinary method of arousing fear by blood-shed, apart even from suspense and irony which are abundantly in evidence in his plays, it is the method of start which is Ibsen's own. Shaw said that it was the element of discussion which was his original contribution to literature. But it is not discussion that constitutes the real beauty of his dramas. Others have suggested that it was he who introduced stark realism into art. But 'realism' had long long ago been adumbrated in England by Lillo and Moore. So it is neither discussion nor realism which form the distinguishing feature of his art, it is the start which imparts to it the dignity and intensity unknown before. Ibsen begins at such a point of the life of an individual or individuals that the event shoots up to the goal without the slightest digression or diversion of any kind. His manner is not of exposition as is common with all the playwrights of the world, but his is of retrospection, characters unfolding their stories, inevitably like so many agonised confessions, as they are driven headlong towards their end. As a matter of fact, his prose dramas are genuine lyrical poems with ideas compact, emotions piling upon emotions, the past pushing upon the present, the present pointing towards the future. His works present a magical blend of the imaginative and the realistic, the lyrical and the dramatic. And it is this which has made his art a thing of eternal beauty. It is never flashy, it is always convincing. Starting

at a crucial point, the characters are swung in the ring of climax, till a new life and a new world are revealed to them. But this revelation does not come from without, as a sort of miracle, it ever comes from within, and hence it is so convincing.

Even in the little details, Ibsen never strains our credulity. In *The Wild Duck*, little Hedvig is persuaded to take hold of the pistol to shoot the duck with and it is this which provides her with an easy means to commit suicide immediately after. Hedda wanted to burn the manuscripts, and for which she herself had got the fire trimmed up. The Indian Girl was to sail and the people were heard hauling it out to sea. Of course, now and then, we feel a little monotonous sameness in the method of bringing about the *denouement*, i.e., by bringing in some disruptive element as Krogstad in *A Doll's House*, Young Werle in *The Wild Duck*, Rebecca in *Rosmersholm*, Ella in *John Gabriel Borkman*. Besides, whenever any documentary evidence is necessary as a proof of guilt, it is ready either in the form of a letter or a bill, although we could never have an idea of its existence. Nevertheless, his art is beautiful, not merely lyrical in its intensity and dignity, it is crushingly convincing. It is splendid not only in its larger strokes, it is perfect in the little details.

With all his profound and almost uncanny comprehension of the veracities of life, he was not blind, as some have pointed out, to all that is picturesque and lovely in nature. But these, in his works, do not seem to have an independent existence of their own, they are rather vitally bound up with human life, now accentuating, now illuminating some depth of our desires and passions. Helpless Oswald dies with the beautiful dawn peeping into his room and he himself crying "The Sun, the sun"—a picture which not only symbolises the natural yearnings of the young body for the pleasures of the world, but also intensifies the tragedy, by contrast, of

the day breaking and a life passing out. Engstrand comes into the room dripping with rain, for to him it is 'God's rain,' and this is not only emblematic of the perfectly true life which was his, highly objectionable though in the eyes of the world, but intensely soothing and refreshing in its effect. Bernick stands in a dark room with his mind also steeped in darkness, and all of a sudden, the blinds of the door and the windows go up revealing the street flooded with illumination. He starts back with horror, as if he had been in accord with that darkness, shuddering at the very light of truth. Rubek and Irene perish in the glaciers of the snow-clad mountains among the clouds with thunders pealing and storm-gusts hurtling, for they were too late to attain to the summit of life that shines in the sunrise. Instances may be multiplied to show that Ibsen had a keen eye for the picturesque, but he conceived them so intensely that they no more appeared as frills, they became symbolical in a high degree. He had equally a keen ear for music, but it traversed the 'sensual ear' to appeal to 'the spirit ditties of no tone.' Nora was confronted with a question of life and death; she was desperately struggling, and there were the sweet enchanting bars of Tarentella being played, luring her, keeping her up, now in fear, now in hope of the adoration of her husband. The overstrung and morbid Borkman finds solace in music and to him a piece of metal sings 'only to come up in the light of day and serve mankind.' If the heard melodies gave him solace, those unheard broke to pieces the heart of Miss Ella.

Thus it appears that Ibsen was searching for truth and beauty everywhere, in the deeps of life, as well as in the externals of Nature. If he destroyed with the foresight and fearlessness of a prophet, he as well created with the sublime imagination of a poet. If he was grim and relentless in his purpose, his heart leapt up with joy at all that was picturesque and musical in Nature. Though looking at dolls in his tray

SOCIAL LIFE IN JAINA LITERATURE

PART II

Marriage ; Polygamy

After the completion of education and when he was of age, a prince was given separate lodgings and was married. The marriage was of course a very grand affair in which large numbers of presents were given to the bride and the bridegroom. From all the accounts it appears that polygamy was common. Kṣatriya princes are always described as marrying a number of wives on the same day.¹ A householder of Rājagrha named Mahāsayaga had thirteen wives ; when he took from Mahāvīra the vows of a householder, he limited himself to these thirteen wives only.² Some stories are told incidental to marriage. A merchant of the city of Campā had a pretty daughter named Sukumārikā. In the same city lived another merchant named Jinadatta who once while passing by saw Sukumārikā playing on the roof of her house ; he was so struck with her beauty that he called on Sukumārikā's father and prayed for her hands in marriage with his son Sāgara. Her father said that she being her only daughter from whom he could not bear to be separated even for a moment, he could agree to the proposal only if Sāgara would become his "son-in-law living in the house." Jinadatta returned home and told Sāgara everything and the latter kept quiet. Then on an auspicious day Jinadatta's party went to the house of the girl and Sāgara was married to her. To Sāgara the touch of his bride seemed sharp like the edge of a razor or sword, etc. When the groom's party left after the nuptial feast and Sāgara entered the bridal

¹ Cf. *Jñātā*, p. 39A.

² *Upās.*, viii. 233, 235.

chamber and lay down on the couch, the touch of the bride seemed to him sharp as before; after a while as she fell asleep, Sāgara went and lay down on another bed but soon after she awoke and joined him on his bed, and he again felt her stinging touch. When she fell asleep again he opened the doors of the chamber and ran for his own house "like one released from the cultches of Death." Next morning as the bride's mother asked the servants to take mouth-toilet to the bride and groom, they found Sukumārikā seated alone in the chamber in a pensive mood. On questioning her the servants learnt that Sāgara had left while she was asleep and they reported the matter to her father who went in wrath to Jinadatta's house and demanded if it was fair and proper for Sāgara to have left his bride in that manner. Jinadatta went into the house, questioned his son, and received the reply that Sāgara would prefer death to going back. The girl's father thereupon returned home ashamed and comforted Sukumārikā by promising to find a husband for her who would love her. Some time after he saw a wretched beggar and with the help of his servants tempted the beggar into the house with promises of a meal, bathed and decked him out and married him to Sukumārikā, but the beggar also felt her sharp touch and ran away. When her father was informed of this he fell into despair and advised her to occupy herself in the kitchen. After some time she met a nun and eventually turned a nun herself.¹

It does not appear to have been the uniform custom for the wedding to take place in the house of the bride, for in the story of king Vaiśramaṇadatta of the town of Rohīḍaga we find that while out on horseback for a ride he happened to catch a glimpse of Devadattā, the beautiful daughter of a householder of the same town named Datta, who was playing with a ball on the roof of her house; the king was pleased with her good looks and sent messengers to Datta asking for her hand in marriage

¹ *Jñāta*, pp. 200A-204B.

with the prince-regent Puṣyanandi ; the proposal was agreed to and Datta married his daughter to the prince having taken her with his family-party to the house of the king.¹

As is natural in polygamous society, jealousy was not an uncommon feature in family-life even in high places. King Simhasena of the town of Supraṭiṣṭha had "five hundred" queens of whom Śyāmā was the chief and the king's favourite. The king was so fond of Śyāmā that he neither cared for nor took any notice of the other queens. The mothers of the neglected queens came to learn of the unhappiness of their daughters and plotted among themselves to put queen Śyāmā to death. When queen Śyāmā became aware of the plot she was terribly upset and sat brooding pensively in the wrath-chamber (*kova-ghara*). When the king heard of this he came to Śyāmā and promised that he would see that no harm befell her. He caused to be built a great mansion resembling a mountain-peak outside the town and after the lapse of some time issued invitations to the mothers of the neglected queens who, on coming, were provided with accommodation in the mountain-peak house and were lavishly entertained. After some days the king went with a large number of his men to this house in the middle of the night, shut all its doors, and set fire to it. His mothers-in-law were thus all killed.²

Revatī was the chief among the thirteen wives of Mahāsayaga, a householder of Rājagrha, of whom mention has already been made. Once it so happened that as she lay awake in the middle of the night thinking of household affairs, the thought occurred to her that she was not able to enjoy thoroughly the usual connubial pleasures with her husband owing to her twelve co-wives. She decided to kill them by some means or other and waited for opportunities. In course of time she despatched six of her co-wives by means of weapons and the rest

¹ *Vipāk.*, pp. 92B-96A.

² *Ib.*, pp. 88B, 92B.

by means of poison, appropriated to herself their wealth, and lived in thorough enjoyment.¹

Irregularities in Married Life

Among the various irregularities in marital relations may be mentioned keeping of concubines, illicit intimacy with respectable wives, and visiting other women ;² in some places well-attended and well-attired girls were paraded ;³ and, girls were brought up for immoral purposes.⁴ Br̥haspatidatta, a priest in the employ of king Udayana of Kauśāmbī, used to enter the king's harem at all times in discharge of his priestly functions and in course of time formed an illicit intimacy with queen Padmāvatī ; the king surprised the two intimates when on a visit to the queen and discovering the intrigue inflicted capital punishment on the priest.⁵

In the various directions given to the ascetics in the texts in order to warn them against the worries of the world and against the wiles of women, are mentioned incidentally some aspects of married life, *viz.*, the amorous intimacies between husband and wife, their quarrels, and the way in which a woman orders her husband about.⁶

Home Life

A few graphic tales are told giving glimpses of home-life. In Campā lived three Brahman brothers who were wealthy and learned. The three wives of these brothers were of the names of Nāgaśrī, Bhūtaśrī, and Yakṣaśrī. Once as the brothers sat together chatting, they decided that as they had enough means they should enjoy the ease and comforts of life and instead

¹ *Upās.*, viii. 238-239.

² *Ib.*, i. 47.

³ *Ācārāṅga*, II. xi. 16.

⁴ *Upās.*, i. 51.

⁵ *Vīpāk.*, pp. 62A-63B.

⁶ *Ācār.*, II. ii. 1.8 ; 3.8-11 ; *Sūtrakṛtāṅga*, I. i. 2.

of having their meals separately they should all dine in the house of one of the brothers by turn. Once it was Nāgaśrī's turn to entertain the others and she cooked a curry with much oil and many flavouring ingredients, besides other minor dishes. When she tasted the curry after cooking it, she found that it was bitter, pungent, and uneatable; fearing that her sisters-in-law would ridicule her owing to the failure of the dish, she put it aside and cooked another. After the meal the brothers went about their work and the other two wives returned each to her own home. A few days after, a young monk named Dharmaruci came to Nāgaśrī's house while out on his alms-begging tour; the housewife remembered of the curry she had put aside and gave away the whole of it to the monk who, according to the rules of the Order, showed it to his Superior but the latter, on inspection of it, declared the curry to be uneatable. Dharmaruci thereupon went to a lonely spot to throw away the curry and noticed that some ants died immediately after eating it; he felt remorseful at the prospect of so many ants losing their life and in order to preserve them he ate up all the curry himself and dropped down dead. When he did not return for long, a search for him was instituted by his Superior and when the monk's corpse was found out, the Superior explained the cause of his death. When the people heard of the matter they blamed Nāgaśrī for her improper alms and when the talk reached the ears of the Brahman brothers, they beat Nāgaśrī and turned her out of the house, and she wandered about in the streets in utter destitution.¹

A rich merchant of Rājagṛha had four sons and their wives. It occurred once to the merchant that in order to find out who among his daughters-in-law would be able to look after his family and wealth after his death he should test them. Therefore he summoned his kinsmen one day and in their presence handed to each of the daughters-in-law five grains of *śālī* rice

¹ *Jñātā*, pp. 196A-199A.

which he asked them to keep and return to him when asked. The first of the daughters-in-law thought that there was plenty of rice in the house from which she would be able to return his trust and so she threw away the grains ; the second one husked the grains and ate them up, the third wrapped them up and put them by carefully, thinking there must be some reason for his trust; but the fourth one prepared a plot of land, sowed the grains, reaped a crop, and repeated this process for four years at the end of which she had a big harvest. After four years the merchant asked for the return of his trust and pleased with the youngest wife appointed her to manage his household.¹

Courtesans and Eunuchs

The texts mention some highly accomplished courtesans and they are described as perfect in beauty, versed in the seventy-two arts, endowed with the sixty-four qualities of a courtesan, giving to enjoyment in the twenty-nine ways, excelling in the twenty-one erotic qualities, skilled in the thirty-two ways of entertaining men,² learned in the eighteen provincial dialects, dressed charmingly like the home of Eros, and skilled in singing and dancing.³ The courtesan Kāmadhvajā of Vāṇijagrāma, it is said, was available for a thousand coins and was granted the umbrella and *yak*-tail as the mark of royal favour; she used to drive about in a *kanni*-chariot and was at the head of "many thousands" of courtesans.

Some stories are narrated in connection with courtesans. Ujjhitaka, the son of a merchant, was intimate with Kāmadhvajā but as queen Śrī was suffering from a disease, king Mitra of Vāṇijagrāma turned Ujjhitaka out of the courtesan's house and kept her for himself. Ujjhitaka pined for her and succeeded after some time in visiting her in secret; while on a visit to

¹ *Jñātā*, pp. 115A-118B.

² These numerical details, says the commentary, are to be understood as set out in works on Erotics.

³ *Vīpāk.*, pp. 21A-22B.

the courtesan the king once caught the two together and ordered Ujjhitaka to be put to death.¹ Under nearly the same circumstances Śakata, the son of a merchant of Sāhañjani, offended the minister Suṣena in respect of the courtesan Sudarśanā; Suṣena reported the matter to king Mahācandra who asked him to punish Śakata in any manner he chose and Śakata was put to death.² In the city of Indrapura lived another famous courtesan named Prthivīśrī who had captured by her art and charms many wealthy men of the city.³ Mention has already been made of the courtesan Devadattā of Campā. We come across also a eunuch named Priyasena of the city of Indrapura who was brought up by his parents to carry on the profession of satisfying the carnal desires of men.⁴

Clubs ; Wine-drinking ; Meat-eating

The house of a courtesan was used as the meeting place of young men's clubs (*goṭṭhī*). These clubs are described as having been granted licenses by the king, independent of the control of parents and relatives (of members), given to much dissipation, and as possessing considerable funds;⁵ these clubs had poetic names, for one in the city of Campā was called the "*Lalitā*." Vātsyāyana also describes a *goṭṭhī* as having its meeting place in the house of a courtesan (*Kāmasūtra*, I. iv. 8).

Drinking wine and other intoxicants and eating meat, fish, and eggs seem to have been very common in society.⁶ Of intoxicating drinks, six varieties are named, *viz.*, *surā*, *madhu*,

¹ *Vipak.*, pp. 33B-35B.

² *Ib.*, pp. 57A-58A.

³ *Ib.*, p. 100B.

⁴ *Ib.* pp. 36-37A.

⁵ *Jñātā*, p. 205B—"attha naṃ Campāe Lalitā nāma goṭṭhī parivasati, naravā-dinṇa-viyārā amma-pū-niyaya-nippivāsā vesa-vihāra-kayanikeyā nāṇāvika-aviṇaya-ppahāṇā aḍḍhā..."

⁶ Cf. Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, Vol. I, p. 178.

prasānnā, *madya*, *śidhu*, and *mairēyaka*.¹ The householder Ānanda, on taking the vows, limited himself to only one kind of liquor, *viz.*, one made from the gum resin of the Olibanum tree.² Not only men but women also were addicted to drinking. When Mahāsayaga, the householder of Rājagrha was practising penances in his sanctum, his wife Revatī who was a thoroughly vicious woman, came to him in a state of intoxication with reeling steps and dishevelled hair, entirely divested of her upper garment, and attempted to divert his mind by tempting him with an exhibition of her physical charms. She was also in the habit of taking meat with wine and ordered her servants to kill two bulls everyday out of the herds belonging to her ancestral property, even after her husband had taken the vows.³ Utpalā, wife of a hunter named Bhīma, had the craving of eating with wine the meat of various limbs of cattle which her husband helped to satisfy by going at midnight to a cattle-shed of the town and cutting off various limbs of cattle which he gave her.⁴ King Puṣyanandi of Rohiḍaga was devoted to his mother, the dowager-queen Śrī, whom he used to shampoo and bathe with his own hands and himself bathed and took his meal after the dowager-queen had finished her bath and meal. This aroused the extreme jealousy and anger of queen Devadattā, the wife of Puṣyanandi. Once while the dowager-queen was asleep in peace on a secluded bed after drinking wine, queen Devadattā found her alone, went to the kitchen, heated an iron-bar red-hot, seized it with a pair of tongs, and going to her mother-in-law thrust it into her mouth and killed her on the spot. The servants heard the dying-yell, ran to the scene of occurrence, saw

¹ See Hoernle's trans. of *Uvāsag.*, p. 156, p. 323. Kautīlya describes the methods of preparation of these and other varieties of liquor and lays down that "Liquor shops shall contain many rooms provided with beds and seats kept apart. The drinking room shall contain scents, garlands of flowers, water, and other comfortable things suitable to the varying seasons" (*Artha-Śāstra*, II. xxv). See also *Kāmasūtra of Vātsyayana*, I. iv. 10.

² *Upās.*, i. 39.

³ *Ib.*, viii. 240-254.

⁴ *Vipāk.*, pp. 26B-29A.

queen Devadattā escaping, and reported the whole matter to the king who ordered the execution of the murderer.¹

An egg-dealer named Niṇṇaya of the town of Purimatāla had many servants who collected from the wood in the outskirts of the city, the eggs of many kinds of birds and beasts which were fried, cooked, and sold in shops on the high street.² A cattle-dealer named Chaṇṇiya of the town of Chaggalapura had many animals confined in a pen which his servants used to kill and cook and sell on the high street.³ Siria, the kitchen-superintendent of king Mitra of Nandipura, used to prepare many kinds of curry and soup of meat and fish and bring them to the royal table together with many kinds of green vegetables.⁴ Mention is made of five kinds of preparation of meat, fish, etc., viz., frying, roasting, drying, salting, and cooking; meat was also prepared cold-, air-, *ḷamma*-, and *ghamma*-cooked, or mixed with *kāla* or *heraṃga* or curd or the juice of *āmalaka* or other fruits; five kinds of cooking-processes are mentioned, viz., in flat, round, deep, and frying-pans, and on charcoal; names are given of about twenty kinds of fishing instruments.⁵

How common were liquor-drinking and meat-eating we can realise from the directions given to the ascetics to keep away from feasts, etc., to which many Brahmans, ascetics, and beggars came and in which liquors, fish and meat were served to all; in these feasts or in private houses it was not uncommon for ascetics to get intoxicated and then to be tempted to sensuality by women or eunuchs.⁶

Popular Festivals; Music and Dancing

The chief popular festival was one held in honour of Indra; whenever there was a popular uproar we find people enquiring

¹ *Vipak.*, pp. 96A-99A.

² *Ib.*, pp. 42A-43A.

³ *Ib.*, pp. 55B-56A.

⁴ *Ib.*, pp. 83A-84A.

⁵ *Ib.*, pp. 27A, 33B 43A and 35.

⁶ *Ācār.*, II, i- -3.2; 4.1; 4.4.

if a festival of Indra was coming out. Public entertainments were also provided by story-tellers, pantomimes, songs, dances, dramatic plays, matches, boxing, acrobatic feats, etc., where men, women and children of all classes assembled, dressed in fine clothes, and made merry.¹ In the accounts of the luxurious living of the rich, we rarely miss the detail of their being surrounded by dancing girls who danced and sung to the notes of ringing drums placed on their head. There was entertainment-halls where performances were given by boys and girls of singing and dancing. Many kinds of drums, cymbals and stringed instruments were in use.² Dancing was in mass where the dancers exhibited various forms of salutation and imitated the shape of many kinds of animals, creepers and flowers. They grouped themselves in the form of letters of the alphabet, imitated the movements of waves, reproduced the form of flowers, ornaments, etc., and depicted natural phenomena such as sunrise, sunset, moonrise, moonset, and also the movements of other stars and planets. They arranged themselves in various ways, sometimes contracting sometimes expanding, rising and falling, both slow and fast; and, they also imitated the movements of animals and the shapes of eggs and various other objects.³

Painting and Sculpture

The art of painting seems to have been considerably developed and also the art of portrait-making. The story is told of a prince named Malladatta, son of the king of Mithilā, who ordered his servants to make an art-gallery (*citta-sabhā*), in his pleasure-garden, depicting feminine charms. Artists were called and they started work; it occurred to one of the painters that just as he could paint an animal by seeing only

¹ *Ācār*. I. viii. 1.8; II. xi. 18.

² See Barnett's trans. of *Antagaḍa*, p. 44, n. 2.

³ *Sthānāṅga*, p. 393A (*Āgam. Sam*); *Rājaprasānīya*, 24; *Jīvābhigama*, p. 240B (A.S.); *Anuyogadvāra*, p. 227 (A.S.).

a part of its body so he should try to paint a likeness of the princess Mallī, the elder sister of Malladatta, who was a celebrated beauty and whose big-toes only the artist had seen. Acting accordingly he painted a full-size likeness of the princess. When the gallery was completed the prince came to inspect it accompanied by his foster-nurse. Going round he came upon his sister's portrait and so exact was the likeness that he was abashed and immediately withdrew. The nurse enquired what the matter was and the prince complained that his sister who was his senior should not have come to his pleasure-haunts and the old nurse assured him that it was not she but only her portrait.¹ Owing to her great beauty a sharp rivalry sprang up among the neighbouring princes for Mallī's hand in marriage and a battle was fought between her suitors on one side and her father who had refused to give her to any one of them. Her father was defeated and his city was besieged. Mallī caused to be made a golden image of herself with a hole in its head which she stopped with a lotus. She put the image in an inner chamber in the *aśōka* garden of the palace, lying in a reclining position on a jewelled bed, and every day she used to open the hole in the head, put a morsel of food inside it, and stoppered it with a lotus. After sometime she persuaded her father to admit the besieging princes into the city and surrender her to them. When the princes came, they were taken to the garden where they had a view of the golden image of Mallī behind a screen; they took the image to be Mallī herself and overpowered by her charms remained long gazing at it. Then Mallī came there and removed the lotus-stopper whereupon a horrid stench sickened the princes, and addressing the princes Mallī said, "If a golden image becomes so disagreeable because of the putrefaction of a morsel of food put into it daily, then how much more repulsive must the human body be which is full of saliva, vomit, bile, fœcess, etc." ²

¹ *Jñātā*, pp. 142A, 143A.

² *Ib.*, pp. 126B-147B.

A minister named Subuddhi of king Jitaśatru once made a statement to the latter that pure matter can be changed into impure matter and *vice versa*, and in demonstration of the truth of his statement he passed some pitchers of water through a process of repeated filtration. This water was drawn from a moat outside the city and was foul and dirty, but after the filtration and having been scented, it was served on the royal table.¹ Mention is found of toilet-saloons where barbers catered to the toilet requirements of customers ; these saloons were called *alaṃkāriya-sabhā*.² The story is told of Citta, the toileter to king Śrīdāma of Mathurā who was instigated by prince Nandiśena to cut the king's throat while shaving him. Nandiśena who was anxious to seize his father's throne, promised half of the kingdom to the toileter if the plot succeeded, but the latter was frightened and divulged the plot to the king.³

A rich jeweller (*maṇiyāra-seṭṭhi*) of Rājagṛha named Nanda dug with the king's permission a great tank outside the city and, on four sides of the tank, he set out a charming woodland. On the south bank of the tank he set up a great dining-hall (*mahā-ṇasa-sālā*) where many paid cooks used to prepare meals which were distributed to Brahmans, mendicants, guests, and the poor ; on the east bank he set up a great art gallery (*citta-sabhā*) where specimens in various colours of woodwork, clothwork, painting, drawing, threading, sculpture, and craftsmanship were exhibited ; many seats and couches were placed there and many paid actors performed there ; the citizens of Rājagṛha came there and seated on those seats and couches, saw, heard, and enjoyed the performance of actors. On the north bank he set up a great toilet-saloon (*alaṃkāriya-sabhā*) where many paid toileters performed toilet-work for many poor people and mendicants ; on the west bank he set up a great hospital (*tegicchiya-sālā*) where many paid and skilful physicians treated many diseased and destitute

¹ *Jñātā*, pp. 173B-176A.

² *Ib.*, p. 88A ; *yasyām nāpitādibhiḥ śarīrasatkāro vidhīyate* (Comm.).

³ *Vipāk.*, pp. 70A-71A.

people, and many paid nurses served them with medicine and diet.¹ The story may have no foundation in fact but the existence of such institutions of charity for the benefit of the poor may be illustrated by it.

Medicines, Diseases and their Treatment

Of the science of medicine, we have the following details. It was divided into eight branches, *viz.*, care of the young, surgery, extrodution of foreign matter from the body, treatment of the body, antidote of poisons, witchcraft, alchemy, and a aphrodisiasis.² Treatment was by rubbing with oil, rubbing with powder, oil-drinks, vomiting, purging, sprinkling, branding, medicated baths, oil-enema, head-bath, purging by drugs, opening veins, scraping, cutting, bathing the head with oils, as also by the administration of chemicals, barks, roots, bulbs, leaves, flowers, fruits, seeds, bitters, pills, drugs, and mixtures.³ Meat was largely prescribed as diet by physicians.⁴ "Sixteen fearful diseases" were commonly prevalent, *viz.*, asthma, cough, fever, inflammation, intestinal colic, fistula, piles, indigestion, optic and cerebral neuralgia, loss of appetite, pain in the eye, pain in the ear, itches, dropsy, and leprosy; in the case of women, *yoniśūla* is always added to this list.

Trade and Commerce

Reference to trade is frequent and many instances are found of maritime commerce, disaster at sea, merchandise, river-ports,

¹ *Jñātā*, pp. 178B-180A; cf. the Girnar Inscription of Aśoka: "*Dve cikicchā katā, manusa-cikicchā ca pasucikicchā ca osuḍhāni ca yāni manusopagāni ca paso (pa) gāni ca yata yata nāsti savrata hārāpitāni ca ropāpitāni ca*"—"Twokinds of treatment have been provided for, *viz.*, treatment for man and that for animals; wherever medicinal herbs for the treatment of man and animal were not available, they have been caused to be taken and planted." Fa-hsien saw such hospices in Pāṭaliputra and Hiuen-Tsiang saw them in the kingdom of Kānyakubja.

² *Vīpāk.*, p. 75A.

³ *Ib.*, p. 14.

⁴ *Ib.*, p. 75.

⁵ *Ib.*, p. 13.

etc.¹ Stamped coins were known ;² rings and seals were inscribed with the owner's name ;³ use of forged documents, receiving stolen property, engaging the service of thieves, smuggling of contraband articles, use of false weights and measures, adulteration of food-stuffs, and houses for gambling and drinking are mentioned.⁴

The Police; Torturing of Prisoners

The police was often high-handed; when a merchant died at sea it was not uncommon for his minor children to be driven out from his house and his property looted by those in power.⁵ Crime was common and justice was severe. Imprisonment in jails of criminals was attended with many rigours ; from one story we learn that a merchant who was put into prison, used to be supplied with food from his home which a fellow-prisoner of his wanted to share and as the merchant refused, the other prisoner suffered from hunger and thirst;⁶ it would seem that prisoners were generally expected to shift for themselves in the matter of meals.⁷ The merchant just referred to procured his release from prison by paying a fine with his own money and that of his relations. The story of Duryodhana, the jail-keeper (*cāragapāla*) of the city of Simhapura is interesting as it narrates the ways in which prisoners were tortured.⁸ Duryodhana used to pour hot liquids or animal's urine down the throat of prisoners after felling them on the ground and opening their

¹ *Vipāk.*, pp. 32A, 57A; *Jñātā*, pp. 132 ff. 227 ff.

² *Uttar.*, xx. 42.

³ *Upās.*, i. 31; vi. 164.

⁴ *Vipāk.*, p. 33B.

⁵ *Vipāk.*, pp. 32B, 57A.

⁶ *Jñātā*, pp. 86B-87A.

⁷ Hiuen Tsiang's observation is interesting in connection with prisoners : " when the crime is brought to light the offender is imprisoned for life; he does not suffer any corporal punishment, but alive and dead he is not treated as a member of the community." (Watters, Vol. I, p. 172).

⁸ *Vipāk.*, pp. 65B-69A; cf. *Kauṭilya*, IV, viii.

mouth with an iron rod ; he placed blocks of stone on their chest, put a rod on the stone, and made others work the rod up and down ; he let them down head downward into wells; he cut their skin and applied alkaline oil to it; he drove nails into the joints of the body; he drove pins into their nails and then made them scratch the ground; he cut their skin, wrapped them up with grass and wet skin, put them out in the sun, and when dry, pulled the grass or the hide off.

Crimes and Modes of Punishment

Impalement was a common form of punishment.¹ In scenes of execution we find the prisoner being led through the streets, surrounded by soldiers, bound over with his head bent down, his ears and nose cut off, his body smeared with oil, his hands tied to his waist, a garland of red flowers round his neck, his body rubbed over with powder, and small bits of flesh were torn off from his body.² An announcement of the details of the crime was made on every cross-road that the convict passed through and he was also flogged there.³ A realistic touch was sometimes given to the mode of punishment, for we find it described that an adulterer was made to embrace a red-hot female figure made of iron ;⁴ a plotter who had attempted to take the life of the king and seize the throne was made to sit on a red-hot iron throne, hot liquids were poured on him as coronation bath and he was made to put on a crown, necklace and other marks of royalty, all heated and blazing.⁵

Theft, robbery, purse-cutting, and burglary were perhaps the commonest offences. Robbers' bands and robbers' villages were very well known⁶ and the depredation of robbers sometimes became so severe that inhabitants of the countryside had to

¹ *Vipak.*, p. 36A.

² *Ib.*, pp. 23B-25A.

³ *Ib.*, pp. 40B-41B.

⁴ *Ib.*, pp. 53B.

⁵ *Ib.*, p. 65A : *Cf. Arthaśāstra*, IV, viii.

⁶ *Ib.*, pp. 38A-40A ; *Jñātā*, pp. 236A ff.

join in a body and seek the king's protection.¹ Statecraft consisted of conciliation with, punishment of, causing division among, and bribing, the enemy. King Mahabbala of Purimatala once sent an expedition against the robber chief Abhagnasena but the king's forces were defeated and destroyed by the latter. On the advice of his Officer of Police (*damda*), the king attempted other means with a view to bring his adversary under his power. He sent costly presents to the robber chief as also to his counsellors and thereby secured their confidence. After some time the king built in his city a house resembling a mountain-peak and announced a ten days' festival ; he sent messengers to the robber chief inviting him to the festival and enquiring whether gifts should be brought to him or he could like to come himself. The robber chief was deceived by this courtesy and came to the city to join in the festivities ; he was lodged in the mountain-peak house and was entertained lavishly for some days ; after the chief's suspicions were allayed by this display of hospitality, the king one day ordered the doors of the city to be closed and the chief to be seized alive and brought before him. When this was done the king ordered the chief to be publicly flogged and then put to death.² In this literature we generally find the rulers of the people to be keen in doing justice when it is sought but there is an account of a tyrant who squeezed money out of his subjects by various levies and impositions and was thoroughly insincere in his dealings with the people.³

Popular Superstitions

The people were great believers in astrology, charms, prognostication, magic, witchcraft, and black art, and there were many people who made their living by practising these arts.⁴

AMULYACHANDRA SEN

¹ *Vipāk.*, pp. 46B-47B.

² *Ib.*, pp. 38A-41B, 47B-53A.

³ *Ib.*, pp. 11A-12A.

⁴ *Sūt.*, II. II., 27, 62 ; *Uttar.* xvii. 18.

THE REALITY OF OXFORD

I. The old order changeth.....

I was standing in the doorway of Elliston's Café looking for the hundredth time at the crowd of undergraduates there. They were drinking coffee, eating biscuits, smoking: in the background the radio-gramophone crooned out the latest dance tune—"Underneath the arches I dream my dreams away." Hearties were there in abundance: healthy young men full of spirits; Rugger players, ice skaters, and tennis blues. Just by the central pillar sat a blonde-haired Swedish girl, one of the lovely "horde of Vikings" who come from Scandinavia to wreak havoc in the hearts of the susceptible. A yellow Sikh turban showed at one side, and the vivid green of a saree. In one corner lounged some precious young men, a Rupert Brooke lock falling over one eye, an exotic orange tie, a still more exotic blue shirt. Three young men by the window were arguing fiercely—coffee forgotten. Some "undergraduates" were sitting in groups together, or with the men, many attractive and very different from the legendary "blue-stockings" of pre-War days who called forth the gibes of the University. Women at Oxford still suffer from those who cling to the idea that worsted stockings, pincenez, shapeless dresses combined with a bad figure and a worse complexion are the hall-marks of the women students.

I thought of the many "last day of term" episodes that had taken place there: the riot of excitement at finishing work that often found expression in singing with the music or beating time with a combination of tea-cups and teaspoons, or throwing lump sugar at neighbouring tables.

I thought of the League of Nations Union lunches—more sober affairs—when students gather to eat, talk, and hear an address afterwards,

Through the window was the Martyrs' Memorial. Beyond that were the grey stone buildings of Balliol. At one side ran Broad Street, with its streams of traffic. A solitary undergraduate was walking across the road, carelessly dressed, bareheaded, wearing the popular rough brown tweed coat with the leather elbow patches. In one hand dangled a gown, insignia of University membership. The old grey flannel "bags" and coloured sweater were in the best (or worst) tradition of the University. Oxford has been dubbed "The home of lost creases."

Yes, I was in Oxford after all—the Oxford of 1932. And I could not help but think that as much history was being made, as many ideas being discussed, round the tables of Elliston's Café as in the lecture rooms of the University.

Oxford is still the city of dreaming spires, but the dreaming spires are no longer its chief pride. They are just a background for far more important things. No one can forget that a few paces from the quiet cloisters of All Souls' College lorry and car and omnibus congest the High Street. If you walk far enough beyond Magdalen Tower, over the bridge and the gardens and the willow-bordered river, you will come to Cowley. This village of hundreds of workpeople, a forest of new houses, schools and cinemas, is where Sir William Morris manufactures his motor cars.

In just the same way, no undergraduate now can forget that he is a unit in the modern world. Three years at Oxford is no longer three years of monastic seclusion for the rich and leisured. I dare say fewer poets of the "twilight in Oxford" variety have been bred in the town these last few years. Everybody knows only too well that a flight from reality is not possible today when the Hunger-Marchers come through on their way to London, and the Air Squadron manœuvres above the libraries. Oxford, the home of poetasters and lost causes, has altered its ways.

There are still moments when the growing darkness of a winter evening shadows the quadrangle of the "House" and we are suddenly aware of the beauty of it all. But there is work to be done, a career to be planned for most of us : it is all a lovely stage on which we are privileged to stand. Like painted scenery, it will soon be taken away, so that the real background of our lives may show itself.

There are very few who care to lose themselves now in the atmosphere of the Middle Ages and forget the world. They receive moreover scant attention. The energy of present-day Oxford bubbles over into political clubs and finds vocal expression in the study groups. It flocks to hear Lindsay and wrangles with Cole at his Marxist class. I have heard a German Rhodes Scholar arguing on the conception of totality, an American try to convince the class that Marx was a philosopher, and did not come down to real facts, an Englishman attempt to get at the truth behind the theory of value—all in a one-hour class. I have often sat too in the pleasant sitting room of the home of Professor Zimmern—the first Professor of International Relations—with a group of students discussing problems of today. A Pole argues with a German—Madame Zimmern who gathers the circle together is herself a Frenchwoman. Indians talk with Americans, a Chinese butts in, an English girl and an Italian pick up the thread of conversation. It is the custom for a visitor to give a short talk, rather to begin the discussion than to lecture on his own point of view. A Chinese educationalist, a Jugo-Slav, and a Pole are among the latest speakers. Everyone criticises, suggests, tries to understand and appreciate. The informal circle round the fireplace is never still.

I have dealt with this group in more detail than is perhaps warranted by the size of the article because it does show clearly one very marked side of Oxford life that is fortunately developing. Personal contact with professors can give so much more than merely listening to their lectures ; they are

the men who, if they take the trouble to meet their students unofficially, will leave their imprint on the generation passing before them. Jokes about the owlish hibernating Oxford professor and his absent-minded ways have become quite stale with repetition. But it is not in this way that I am complaining. To many of us, the greatest harm seems to be wrought by those quite sane, many brilliant, lecturers who speak like an oracle from their desks to a roomfull of students about whom they know nothing, and will not attempt to know anything. At the most, they are acquainted with a few members of their own particular college. Prof. Zimmern, Mr. Harlow of Rhodes House (to mention two with whom I have come into contact, are typical of a new school of thought that is growing up in the one-time home of exclusiveness.

Oxford—any university—is a community of young people, not a beehive of book students. The Oxford of today which refuses to be lured by the calm of mellow buildings is going to be of far greater use to the future than the scholastically inclined students of the past. When Gandhi fasts in India, when Manchuria is a scene of conflict, when disarmament is having a hard struggle to survive, and the unemployed, reaching alarming proportions, march footsore and hungry into the town—is it any wonder that the “dreaming spires” are of minor importance? The problems facing the world today are so great that there is little time for dreaming even in Oxford.

I do not forget that in the past Oxford sent out many famous men of action. Politicians have always been bred at Balliol. F. E. Smith electrified the Union in the same way as later (only then as Lord Birkenhead) he was to electrify the House of Commons. Lawrence of Arabia used to run for exercise round Jesus Quad. The white marble body of Shelley, unearthly and strangely beautiful, lies in a dim corner of University College. In the latest undergraduate novel “Storm in Oxford,” there is a dedication to the memory

of Percy Bysshe Shelley, who came up to Oxford in '17 and was dismissed for professing atheism only a year later.

But in those (mainly) quieter days of the past, the type of undergraduate was very different from today. The undergraduate with little or no money of his own has entered into the preserves of the rich and fortunate. Quite a considerable number of the men now—even a larger portion of the women (about 75%) who have stiffer competition for entrance—are students only because of State, School, or College scholarships. There is bound to be a change of outlook: a more practical view of education.

Culture is still loved in Oxford for its own sake and is perhaps all the more vital for being subordinated to, or rather combined with, a realisation that a man does not live by sitting over a manuscript or taking a degree. We have seen the funny side of the Oxford accent; even that has lost its glamour. Our love of tradition, which is the very air that Oxford breathes, is no mere following in what has gone before. It is more a determination to use what is good in the old, but only in so far as it is to be useful in constructing the new.

Everywhere here the new and the young is piercing through the old and the dead. I walk on many days down the Turl, past the famous flower shop with its windowful of roses—how many stories of romance could it not tell!—by the end of Market Street where the crates of fruit are unloaded. Through the grey arches of Jesus College shimmers a branch of green leaves. Lorries, cars, and omnibuses rattle up the Hugh; St. Cath's Lane has an electric sign "One Way Street." The stone walls and carven soaring tower of Magdalen still warm into life when a golden shaft of sunlight falls upon them. But underneath Tom Tower, an undergraduate in untidy clothes is reading a newspaper.

FREDA M. HOULSTON

TO FAITH

1

Speak to me, Darling of my heart !
Speak, Fairest flower of my youth !
I yearn to hear thy gentle voice,
 Since the dawn of day.

2

I look to the moving Sun,
Fading in the crimson hue of even,
I look to the golden Moon
Bathing the world with her virgin beams,
I listen to the sighing winds
Passing swiftly over the dancing sea,
But still I cannot hear thee,
 Darling of my soul !

3

I hasten over the sandy beach,
In the sorrow of my own soul,
I dive into the snowy mist,
Thickening with the watery spray,
But still I cannot get thee,
 Joy of my soul !

N. N. CHANDRA

EAST AND WEST

Much has been written regarding the action and reaction of Eastern and Western mentalities on each other. It is believed that there is something in the nature of an antithesis between the subjective and immobile Eastern mentality and the objective and active Western mind. Much has been made of the rough-shod trampling on subtle mental states wherever the Western philosophy makes inroads into Asia. In point of fact a much more exact examination of actualities is necessary before the changes that are brought about in Eastern mentality by contact with the West are dubbed 'destructive.' It is inevitable that, when at a stage of evolution a factor enters which makes possible a leap forward, without the intermediate linked stages of progress being present, what is in reality a continuous movement should appear as movement at a tangent. Before the destructive effects of such contact are proved it is imperative to settle whether evolution with the direction which it has at present would not lead the Asiatic mind to very much the same stage that it reaches after contact with Western mentality, although in that case it does so by way of wrench. It has not been shown so far that either cultural or practical mental development is possible except by way of objective knowledge. It has been said that the East has not been able to bear the inroads made by the West. As a proof of the fact that it is an inroad and something to be resisted, it is pointed out that the commonest reaction to such a contact is the feeling of revolt "against European influence." It is however a moot point whether this supposed revolt is merely the irritation caused, as it happens to be in this case, by criticism, albeit indirect. Would it not be almost as just to have dubbed as "revolt" the resistance offered by the early

Nineteenth Century society in Europe to the advent of Science ? Is it not rather by final results that the reaction to such "inroads" should be judged ? The presence of the shock of contact does not necessarily mean the presence of insolubility. A further fact in favour of "the twain shall never meet" theorists has been the neither fish nor fowl variety of mentality which results in the majority of cases where the West has been, so to say, grafted on to the ancient gnarled stem of the East. Awful indeed are these first generations of the New Culture. It is often doubted whether these generations of botched humanity are anything but an excrescence thrown up and soon to be merged with their progeny into the ocean from which they were produced by a wanton and necessarily temporary churning. This is like speculating whether the just hatched chicken which still bears much of the rotundity of the egg and little of the clearly defined form of the full-grown fowl is not likely to step back and become an egg rather than steps formed and do the seemingly impossible by becoming fowl.

MEHAR DALAL

WESTERN INFLUENCE ON THE POETRY OF RABINDRANATH

Foreign influences probably get reduced in profundity and extent in case of men of letters gifted with original genius of the highest order, but Rabindranath Tagore furnishes an interesting study in Western influence. While discussing his poetry the facility with which he writes English, his intimate knowledge of English and other literatures of the West, his personal visits to the West again and again, and the anglicised atmosphere of his home have to be taken into consideration. His grandfather, Dwarkanath Tagore, commonly known as Prince Dwarkanath for his magnificent scale of living, visited England at a time when few of his countrymen undertook a journey across the seas. His elder brother, Satyendranath, was the first Indian Member of the Indian Civil Service. Another brother, Jyotirindranath, was interested in French literature and translated a large number of French works into Bengali. There is a liberal culture in his family and the Tagores are regarded as the leaders in arts, letters and fashions in Bengal.

In his younger days he was styled the "Bengali Shelley." Perhaps it was that he too like Shelley has the same lyric gracefulness and the same romantic idealism. His English education began when he was of a tender age.¹ He was never fond of schools, at least of those which existed in his younger days. More than once he has expressed his resentment against schoolmasters. He had a regular dread for schools and teachers.² Much of his education was done at home but Akshaychandra Choudhury, who was an intimate friend of his

¹ *Reminiscences*, p. 31.

² *Jīvan Smṛiti*, p. 77.

brother Jyotirindra, made him interested in English literature.¹ Choudhury was an excellent reciter in English and used often to declaim to Rabindranath's delight.² At this period Goldsmith's "Vicar of Wakefield" and Dickens's "Old Curiosity Shop" were his favourites.³ A tutor made him to translate the first one.⁴ He translated "Macbeth" under the same pressure.⁵

Akshay Choudhury's profound knowledge of literature was one of the most formative influences on Rabindranath's poetic genius. He makes no secret of his debt to this friend of his elder brother. Akshay gave young Rabindra his company ungrudgingly and Tagore says that he listened to him on many occasions going into a rapturous elucidation of or dissertation on some English poem.⁶ His father took him on a tour in the Himalayas and taught him books of the type of Peter Parley's "Tales."⁷ A reading of the racy translation of St. Pierre's "Paul and Virginia" made him shed tears, so fascinated was he with the story.⁸ Besides Akshay Choudhury, he had another literary friend, Priyanath Sen, who was "an expert navigator of all the seven seas of literature, whose highways and byways, in almost all languages, Indian and foreign" he traversed with ease.⁹ Sen's literary opinions, suggestive criticism and discriminative appreciation were of great value to Rabindranath.

Some of his earliest literary works include translations from Moore, Burns, Byron, Mrs. Opie, Shakespeare, Chappel, Shelley

¹ *Ibid*, p. 89, etc.

² *Ibid*, p. 24.

³ *Ibid*, p. 52, p. 92.

⁴ *Reminiscences*, p. 129.

⁵ *Ibid*, p. 111.

⁶ *Jivan Smriti*, p. 90, pp. 129-30.

⁷ *Ibid*, p. 64. p. 68.

⁸ *Ibid*, p. 82; *Glimpses of Bengal*, p. 86, "When I was a child, illustrations of woodland and sea, in Paul and Virginia, or Robinson Crusoe, would waft me away from the every-day world.

⁹ *Reminiscences*, p. 214.

Tennyson, Arthur O'Shaughnessy, Christina Rossetti, Victor Hugo, Elizabeth Browning, Matthew Arnold, Swinburne, Buchanan and Edwin Arnold.¹ In 1878-79 he wrote a large number of articles on English literature for the "Bharati." He contributed in the same year to the "Bharati" articles on Russian literature, Chatterton, etc. Some stories in blank verse (Gatha) which belong to an earlier period of his life are influenced by Scott's metrical romances in the opinion of an English critic of his poetry.²

He went to England in 1887 for studies at the University of London and attended lectures on English literature at the University College, where he read Browne's "Religio Medici" with Professor Henry Morley, for whom he retained a deep respect.³ He read there also Herbert Spencer's "Data of Ethics."⁴ He enjoyed Morley's reading of "Coriolanus" and "Antony and Cleopetra."⁵ His impressions about English literature and the influence it exerted upon his mind are described in his auto-biography.⁶

"Our restricted life," says Rabindranath, "our narrower field of activity was hedged in with such monotonous formality that tempestuous feelings found no entrance; all was as calm and quiet as could be. So our hearts naturally craved the life-bringing shock of the passionate emotion in English literature. Ours was not the aesthetic enjoyment of literary art, but the jubilant welcome by stagnation of a turbulent wave, even though it should stir up to the surface the slime of the bottom...The spirit of this bacchanalian revelry of Europe found entrance into our demurely well-behaved social world,

¹ Bharati, Vols. I-V.

² Thomson, Rabindranath Tagore; Poet and Dramatist, 1926, p. 29.

³ Thompson, Rabindranath, pp. 19, 33, 1921. Thompson (1926) will mean his later work on Tagore, while Thompson (1921) means his earlier study of Rabindranath.

⁴ Reminiscences, p. 172.

⁵ Thompson, Tagore; Poet and Dramatist, p. 31.

⁶ Reminiscences, pp. 181-87; Jivan Smriti, pp. 129-34. Mr. P. R. Sen in Prabasi (Ashar, 1338, Vol. XXXI, Part I, p. 337) says that Rabindranath's genius received an impetus from English poetry before he left for England. (Western Influence and Bengali literature.)

woke us up, and made us lively. We were dazzled by the glow of unfettered life which fell upon our custom-smothered heart, pining for an opportunity to disclose itself."¹ In his heart "the waves of this excitement kept beating from every side." (The aesthetic enjoyment of literature began later when the assimilation of Western literature was more complete and better opportunities were afforded for its real understanding.)

Rabindranath steeped himself in English classics and though he has sometimes perpetrated astounding errors in his judgment of English literature he has a great admiration for great English writers. Mr. C. F. Andrews, who has known the poet intimately for years writes, "His own study of the English language has been through the medium of great literature. He has steeped his mind with a poet's pure delight in the English classics. Therefore his refinement in English literary taste has remained sensitive and keen."²

European music impressed him during his first European visit. In his opinion, "European music seems to be intertwined with its material life, so that the texts of its songs may be as various as the life itself." The more he heard and learnt it the more he entered into its spirit and admired it, though he was perfectly convinced of the fundamental difference between Indian and European music.³ He thinks European music to be romantic and says, "Wherever I have been moved by European music I have said to myself: it is romantic, it is translating into melody the evanescence of life."⁴ By romantic he understands "the aspect of variety, of abundance, of the waves on the sea of life,

¹ Reminiscences, pp. 181-3.

² Introduction to Poems from Tagore, Macmillan, p. XXIV. In the opinion of Dr. James H. Cousins, Tagore's affinities in English literature are with Vaughan, Herbert Crawshaw, A. E. and James Macbeth Bain who are his "spiritual kindred" Modern Review, August, 1916.

³ Glimpses of Bengal, pp. 135-36.

⁴ Reminiscences, p. 191.

of the ever-changing light and shade on their ceaseless undulations." This fondness for Western music has been a characteristic of other members of his family also.¹

The knowledge of European music was helpful to him in the composition of his operatta, "The Genius of Valmiki." Dr. Thompson in his earlier book on Rabindranath regards it as a musical comedy,² while the poet himself speaks of it as "not what Europeans call an opera, but a little drama set to music."³ The play owes its origin to the enraptured recitation of Moore's "Irish Melodies" by Akshay Choudhury. The poems and pictures in a copy of Moore's work which was in the family library combined to conjure up for the poet a dream-picture of old Ireland. He had often felt a longing to hear and learn the real tunes. In England he did hear and learn some of them, but they did not conform to his imaginary conception of old Irish music. This glamour for what is known as the Celtic note appears again and again in his Symbolical plays. Some of the tunes of the songs in this play were adapted from English music.⁴ Dr. Thompson remarks that Rabindranath mingled Western tunes with Indian music and there are traces of English folk-lore.⁵

Akshay Choudhury's account of the forgeries of Chatterton fired Tagore's imagination and he thought of becoming a second Chatterton. He gave out one day that in the library of the Adi Brahmo Samaj he had found an old manuscript of the poems of Bhanu Sing.⁶ But the language of the poems of Bhanu Singh like that of the Rowley Poems is artificial. Mr. Rhys likens this effort of Rabindranath "to the reproduction of mediaeval Italian romance by Keats."⁷ But while in Keats the mediaeval atmosphere has been to a large extent

¹ Reminiscences, pp. 128-29.

² Thompson, 1921, p. 14.

³ Reminiscences, p. 194.

⁴ Reminiscences, pp. 192-93

⁵ Thompson, 1921, p. 14.

⁶ Jiban Smriti, p. 98.

⁷ Earnest Rhys, Rabindranath: A Biographical Study, p. 15. Dr. Seal, Neo-Romantic Movement in Bengali Literature, Calcutta Review, 1891, p. 184.

reproduced through the witchery of his verse, Tagore has blended old Bengali Vaishnava lyrics with the language of his own time and therefore the charm of Vaishnava poetry is missed there.

Of the poems composed during this period "Kavi Kahini" resembles the "Alastor" of Shelley. Like Shelley's hero, Rabindranath's poet roams in search of some imaginary love, some ideal which he does not find on earth. The Shelleyan ideas of the woes of the world, the miseries of mankind, its future, the brotherhood of humanity, the unfitness of the world as an abode for poets, are all present in this immature poem. It is therefore not wrong to suppose that at this time the chief foreign influence on his poetry was Shelley.

The "Evening Songs" were composed when the poet's life had little acquaintance with the world outside, when he was busy wandering on the wings of fancy. Here his genius first freed itself from the shackles of conventional forms and the poet wrote as it pleased him. Critics, of course, accused him of mistiness. This charge was not wholly baseless. His poetry did in fact lack the backbone of worldly realities.¹ There was a kind of sadness and pain running through the poems which is also noticed in the poetry of young Shelley. In both there is the same kind of "pathos of the inexpressible and the anguish of vagueness." This kind of doubt and uncertainty Wordsworth and Keats also experienced. Wordsworth realised his real self, but Keats died too young to find happiness through a mature genius. The heart of Keats ached and a drowsy numbness pained his sense. Wordsworth was tired with unchartered freedom and the world became too much with him. The Bengali poet on the far-off banks of the Ganges felt the same kind of langour and despondency.²

¹ Reminiscences, p. 211.

² Dr. Seal notes the natural magic of Keats, the moral profundity of Wordsworth. Shelley's transfiguration of the inner life of the heart of humanity in the "Evening and Morning Songs," Calcutta Review, pp. 178-82.

The "Morning Songs" also belong to the period when the influence of Shelley was supreme. This was the time when out of a trivial incident, a phenomenon of nature—the wonderful radiance of sunrise—that he saw the world in its true light, bathed in beauty and joy and his heart gushed forth in a poem, the "Awakening of the Waterfall," which is the morning paean of his new consciousness. Henceforth he could peer into the hidden depths of eternal joy and could see in objects small, the great dance-rhythm of humanity and beautiful music pervading the whole universe. He dedicates his life in a poem, the "Echo," to a Loveliness which is not far different from Shelley's Intellectual Beauty—strange, unseen and inexplicable. This Shadowy One moves in everything but the poet cannot see it. Dr. Thompson says, "It was Shelley's search for a hidden loveliness that made the 'Hymn to Intellectual Beauty' a swaying influence on Rabindranath's imagination, during many years when he was feeling his way towards a definite experience of realised beauty within his life."¹ The poem "Manassundari" consummates this earlier conception.²

There has been a great tradition of child-poetry in Sanskrit connected with the divine child Srikrishna. It is as old as the Bhagabat. The Vaishnava poets of India found delight in singing of the childhood and boyhood of Krishna and the mediaeval poets of Bengal felt pleasure in narrating the younger days of Srichaitanya. But the child-poems of Rabindranath resemble Blake's "Songs of Innocence" and Stevenson's "Child's Garden of Verses" in their sweetness and rapture, in their insight into the child's little ways and thoughts. His vision of childhood recalls Wordsworth's famous ode on

¹ Thompson, 1926, p. 300. Rabindranath's admiration for Shelley with special reference to the Hymn to Intellectual Beauty, Creative Unity, pp. 18-21 (The Poet's Religion) also pp. 24-25 of the same. He presided over the Shelley Centenary Celebrations at the Rammohan Library in 1922.

² "You have appeared to-day as the world-poet," etc.

"Intimations of Immortality."¹ Tagore says in the "Crescent Moon," "Baby was free from every-tie in the land of the tiny crescent moon...Baby never knows how to cry. He dwelt in the land of perfect bliss." He says again, "The sleep that flits on the baby's eyes.—Does anybody know from where it comes? Yes, there is a rumour that it has its dwelling where, in the fairy village among the shadows of the forest dimly lit with glow-worms, there hangs two shy buds of enchantment. From there it comes to kiss baby's eyes." These ideas seem to be allied closely to Wordsworth's "Heaven lies about us in our infancy." Another poem in the "Crescent Moon," "Yet my memory is still sweet with the first white jasmines that held my hand when I was a child," may very well be a parallel to Wordsworth's "first affections" and "shadowy recollections."

Rabindranath's conception of the carefree life of the child is :

"Children have their play on the sea-shore of worlds.....
On the sea-shore of endless worlds, children meet. Tempest
roams in the pathless sky, ships are wrecked in the trackless
water, death is abroad, and children play. On the sea-shore
of endless worlds is the great meeting of children." This
idea is found also in Wordsworth,

"And see the children sport upon the shore,
And hear the mighty waters rolling evermore."

This land of the children in Wordsworth and Rabindranath bear a resemblance to the "Never Never Land" in Sir James Barrie's "Peter Pan." In many other ideas about the child such as its love of song, its love of stories, its love of adventure, its desire to play the man, the child growing into an adult Rabindranath resembles Wordsworth. Like him Tagore has the faith : "We indeed have leisure enough

¹ Cf. Plato, Meno (85-86) and Phaedo (72) and Vaughan's "Retreat." Also, "Our learning is only a process of recollection"—Church, Trial and Death of Socrates, p. 132.

in old age to count the days that are past, to cherish it in our hearts what our hands have lost for ever." Wordsworth says,

" We will grieve not rather find
Strength in what remains behind;
In the primal sympathy
Which having been, must ever be."

Of other similarities in the "Crescent Moon" with ideas found in English writers, Mr. Andrews points out the "End" which has thoughts akin to those in Lamb's "Dream Children."¹

Matthew Arnold has remarked, "Creative literary genius does not principally show itself in discovering new ideas, that is rather the business of the philosopher."² The Irish dramatist Synge observes, "All art is collaboration."³ George Moore says, "An original author assimilates and the influence disappears." In Tagore's case all this is quite true. It is to be concluded therefore that somewhere at some time he read certain things in the works of Western writers and these have without any effort on his part entered into the spirit of his poetry.

His dramatic poem "Nature's Revenge" resembles Browning's "Paracelsus" in more ways than one. English critics of Tagore are a little overdefinite on this point.⁴ The hero in Tagore is a hermit who tries to gain victory over nature by cutting away the bonds of all human affections and desires and in that way he seeks perfection. His meeting with a little girl brings him back to the realisation that the great is found in the small, the infinite within the bonds of the form, and the eternal freedom of the soul in love, and it is only in the light of love that limits are merged in the

¹ Modern Review, September, 1914.

² Essays in Criticism (First Series) —Function of Criticism.

³ Playboy of the Western World —Preface.

⁴ Rhys, Rabindranath, pp. 86-7; Thompson, Rabindranath, 1921, p. 26.

limitless. In the quest of the eternal truth man must not segregate himself from all that is around him. The joy of attaining the infinite within the finite from this time became an ingrained belief of Rabindranath. In one of his later songs he writes, "Within the finite, you are the infinite and sing your own song. Therefore your manifestation in me is so sweet." In one of his letters he wrote, "When we feel the flow of life in us to be one with the universal life outside, all our pleasures and pains are seen strung upon one long thread of joy."¹

✓ Paracelsus aimed to conquer the world with knowledge. In trying to win perfect knowledge his aim was to serve humanity. But in spite of his mastery over knowledge he could not use it. There was a flaw somewhere. Only in the last moments of his life when the lamp of life was flickering faith dawned upon him that he had repressed life, love, and everything that was godlike in him. He died with the hope that the splendour of God's lamp "soon or late will pierce the gloom" and he would "emerge one day." In "Pauline," Browning wanted to tell the same thing. Aprile shut out knowledge in his search for eternal beauty. He was baffled. Then one day in the world of natural beauty he came upon the supreme message that what he had hungered for was God only—God the eternal love. The ascetic said, "Let my vows of sanyasi go. I break my staff and my alms-bowl. This stately ship, this world, which is crossing the sea of time,—let it take me up again, let me join once more the pilgrims."

The sanyasi, Paracelsus and Kacha (in the "Curse at Farewell") exalted knowledge over love and were failures. Rabindranath like Browning has the hope, "All is done and finished in the eternal heaven."² He thinks that he has no time to

¹ Rabindranath, *Glimpses of Bengal*, p. 163.

² *The Gardener*, pp. 116-18.

brood over the after-life and he is of an age with each. The eternal life to which Browning refers in the "Grammarian's Funeral" ("Man has forever") is the same as Tagore's belief that the worship that is not finished in this life will not be in vain.¹ His dramatic dialogues are psychological studies in verse like Browning's "Dramatic Idyls." "They are," says a student of Tagore's poetry, "studies of Men and Women placed in very difficult emotional situations. It is not drama, because there is very little movement. One might almost say that it is an instantaneous cross-section of a powerful dramatic movement—something like a snapshot of a real drama. We get only a glimpse. We see the actors only in one particular situation. Nothing happens—we just see them."²

In a talk with Dr. Thompson, Rabindranath expressed his admiration for Keats's "Ode on a Grecian Urn." "The idea appeals to me," he said.³ The influence of Keats's ode-form is apparent in that superb and magnificent poem "Urvashi" where the poet's love of an eternal or ideal beauty finds its most glorious expression. The imagery here used is not very different from that found in the "Hymn to Proserpine" of Swinburne. Tagore says,

" Like some stemless flower, blooming in thyself,
 When didst thou blossom Urvasi ?
 That primal spring, thou didst arise from the
 yeast of the ocean,
 In thy right hand nectar, venom in thy left,
 The swelling, mighty sea, like a serpent tamed
 with spells,
 Drooping his thousand, towering hoods,
 Fell at thy feet!
 White as the kunda-blossom, a naked beauty,
 Adored by the king of gods,
 Thou stainless One."

(Thompson's translation, 1921.)

¹ Dharma-sangit.

² Thompson, 1926, p. 169.

³ *Ibid*, p. 390.

Swinburne writes,

“ Our mother, a blossom of flow’ring seas,
Clothed round with the world’s desire as the raiment
And fair as the foam,
And fleeter than kindred fire, and a goddess,
And mother of Rome.

.....

Her hair heavily laden with odour and colour of flower
White rose of the rose-white water, a silver
Splendour of a flame,
Bent down unto us that besought her, and
Earth grew sweet with her name.

.....

Came flushed from the full-flushed wave and
imperial her foot on the sea
And the wonderful waters knew her, the
Winds add the viewless ways,
And roses grew rosier and bluer the
Sea-blue stream of the bays.”

In Indian mythology, there is of course no allusion like this except that the goddess Lakshmi was born out of the waves when the great churning of the ocean took place : ¹ Rabindranath seems to have in mind the Greek idea of the birth of Venus or the Scandinavian conception of Freya.

The Keatsian worship of Beauty is noticed in the lyrical drama “Chitra.” Rabindranath’s conception of the beauty of a perfect feminine form is allied to the pre-Raphaelite ideas. The life of Arjun becomes complete when his “goddess hidden in a golden image” bares her whole soul to him and he replies, “Beloved, my life is full.” It remains however a puzzle whether Rabindranath idealised Chitra like Shelley apostrophizing Emilia Viviani in “Epipsychidion” as the incarnation of an ideal beauty or he merely told in a new way an old story. But it is certain that Rabindranath perceived

¹ Wilson, Vishnu Purana, Bk. I, Ch. IX.

like Keats, "Beauty is Truth, Truth Beauty." Dr Thompson thinks that the play is not without symbolism.¹ It is however difficult to find anything like that in it. On the other hand it is contended that the work is mere sex-play, the frank desire of the youngman for young-eyed beauty.² Chitra was once the cause of controversy between two different schools of literary critics and it would be better not to rake up old quarrels.

In their love poetry Shelley and Rabindranath are alike.³ Shelley believed in love more strongly than any other English poet as the only thing that would bring happiness to earth. Rabindranath's "Life of my Life" in the "Gitanjali" is similar in sentiment to Shelley's "Life of Life." Shelley did not live long enough to give sufficient expression to his faith in love but Rabindranath has grown in the faith. His idea of "one in many" when he writes,

" We are all the more because we are many,
For we have made ample room for love in the
Gap where we are sundered.
Our unlikeness reveals its breadth of beauty radiant
With one common life,
Like mountain peaks in the morning sun."

has a Shelleyan note. Shelley says in the "Adonais,"

" The one Spirit's plastic stress
Sweeps through the dull dense world, compelling there
All new successions to the forms they wear ;

¹ Rabindranath, 1921, p. 24.

² Benoy Kumar Sarkar, *Love in Hindu Literature*.

³ A French critic writes of the Love Poems of Tagore : " Nothing in our European culture,—our poetry, philosophy or art, is unknown to Rabindranath Tagore. If the taste of this Indian man of letters has nothing to gain in refinement from contact with us, his sensitiveness has become broadened and enriched through his gleanings from our European authors : Keats, Shelley, Heine, Verlaine, etc.,—to mention only the poets. Their delicately sensitive and sorrowful verse has, no doubt, troubled the serenity of this young Hindu.....It is not improbable either, that he may have plunged, cursorily at least, in the vast waves of Whitman's lyric verse."—*Modern Review*, June, 1918, translated by Indira Devi.

Torturing the unwilling dross that checks its flight
 To its own likeness, as each mass may bear ;
 And bursting in its beauty and its might
 From trees and beasts and men into the Heaven's light."

The idea of "one in many" is not Shelley's own. It is as old as Plato. Dante also gives expression to it in the "Vita Nuova." Similar ideas are found in Wordsworth :

"Workings of one mind, the features
 Of the same face, blossoms upon one tree,
 Characters of the great Apocalypse,
 The types and symbols of Eternity,
 Of first, and last, and midst, and without end; "

(Of striking similarities between Rabindranath's poems and those of English poets may be mentioned the patriotic poems in the "Naibedya" and the sonnets of Wordsworth, the "Year's End" of Tagore and the "West Wind Ode" of Shelley, Browning's "Rephan" and Rabindra's "Farewell from Heaven.") In certain other aspects of his poetry, he has a kinship with Western poets and thinkers. A prominent note in his poetry is that current of thought which some of his critics label as the "Jiban devata" doctrine.² Rabindranath's idea is that his relationship with this earth is age-old. In one of his letters he writes, "The world is ever new to me ; like an old friend loved through this and former lives, the acquaintance between us is both long and deep. I can well realise how, in ages past, when the earth in her first youth came forth from her sea-bath and saluted the sun in prayer, I must have been one of the trees sprung from her new-formed soil, spreading my foliage in all the freshness of a primal impulse."³ On another occasion he wrote, "It feels strange to be reminded that only thirty-two Autumns have

¹ Prelude, Bk. VI.

² Ajit Kumar Chakravarti, *Kavya Parikrama*.

³ *Glimpses of Bengal*, pp. 91-92.

come and gone in my life ; for my memory seems to have receded back into the dimness of time immemorial ; and when my inner world is flooded with a light, as of an unclouded autumn morning, I feel I am sitting at the window of some magic palace, gazing entranced on a scene of distant reminiscence, soothed with soft breezes laden with the faint perfume of all the Past.”¹ Rabindranath says, “O you ever-old, you are for ever making me new. Always you have been with me, you will be with me always.” This sounds like Wordsworth when he wrote,

“Life continuous, being unimpaired
That hath been, is and where it was and is
There shall endure.”²

Or like Alice Meynell when she says,

“Down through long links of death and birth,
From the past poets of the earth,
My immortality is there.

.....

My thoughts are blessed
With relics of the far unknown
And, mixed with memories not my own.”³

(Christian influence has been diagnosed in his life and work as some poem in the “Gitanjali” have the same note as the teachings of the Bible.⁴ It is true that Rabindranath has written an essay on Jesus Christ, but in his family Christianity has never been looked upon with favour.⁵ The rhythm of the “Gitanjali” translations have a resemblance with the language of the Psalms in the Bible. But Whitman and Edward Carpenter also wrote in a similar manner.)

In spite of his understanding of European culture and civilisation Tagore seems to have an aversion for the West.

¹ Glimpses of Bengal, p. 144.

² Excursion, Bk. IV.

³ A Poet's Song of Derivations.

⁴ Thompson, 1921, p. 100.

⁵ Auto-Biography of Devendranath Tagore, p. 15.

In one of his letters, he wrote, "Curiously enough, my greatest fear is lest I should be reborn in Europe!"¹ Yet he is not blind to Western influences. In "Nationalism" he says, India is no beggar of the West. And yet even though the West may think she is, I am not for thrusting off Western civilisation and becoming segregated in our independence. Let us have a deep association. If providence wants England to be the channel of that communication, of that deeper association, I am willing to accept it with all humility. I have great faith in human nature, and I think the West will find its true mission."

Endowed as he is with genius of a very high order, his works have brought much of the spirit of Western literature to the land of his birth. He has formed a connecting link between the East and the West not only by the popularity of the translations of his writings in the languages of Europe but also by the Western influences so apparent in them. At a reception held in his honour in England, after the award of the Nobel Prize to him, Rabindranath said, "I have learned that though our tongues are different and our habits dissimilar, at the bottom our hearts are one. The monsoon clouds that generated on the banks of the Nile, fertilize the far distant shores of the Ganges; ideas may have to cross from East to Western shores to find a welcome in men's hearts and fulfil their promise. The East is east and the West is west, God forbid that it should be otherwise but the twin must meet in amity, peace, mutual understanding; their meeting will be all the more fruitful because of their differences; it must lead both to holy wedlock before the common altar of humanity," and he in his writings is the living embodiment of these ideals.

JAYANTA KUMAR DAS GUPTA.

¹ Glimpses of Bengal, p. 106.

Reviews

The Mahābhārata—(Southern Recension) critically edited by P. P. S. Sastri, B.A. (Oxon.), M.A., Professor of Sanskrit, Presidency College, Madras. Vols. I and II, Ādiparvan. Published by V. Ramaswami Sastrulu and Sons, 292, Esplanade, Madras.

The Mahābhārata is a monumental work in Sanskrit and a great record of Indian culture. It is often styled the 'Fifth Veda' and has more than one recension in different parts of India. Bengal also possesses one recension of which notice has already been taken by scholars. Prof. P. P. S. Sāstri has brought us under obligation by his critical edition of the South Indian Texts of the Mahābhārata. This is a step towards removing a long-felt want. The learned editor has consulted five manuscripts (all collected from Southern India) and added variant readings in the foot-notes. But what has really contributed to the useful features of the edition is the addition of an exhaustive index of subject-matters. A word index of so important a work is also a desideratum. There are many knotty points in the texts of the Mahābhārata which require some amount of interpretation. It is not too much to expect that Prof. Sāstri will give us in his introduction a historical survey of the whole work, touching upon many interesting social and political features of India as depicted in this great *Itihāsa*.

P. C. C.

Rukmini-Haran-Nat. Written by Mahapurush Sankardev in 1532 A.D. Edited by Srijut Ambikanath Borah, M.A., Lecturer in the Calcutta University, and published by the Calcutta University. With Introduction in English, pp. 7 to 17; and in Assamese, pp. 19 to 36. Text, pp. 1-64. Glossary, pp. 65-67. 1933.

We congratulate Mr. Borah on bringing out this excellent edition of the most popular Assamese Vaishnava drama, under the enlightened auspices of the Calcutta University, who deserve the gratefulness of all Assamese people for their continued interest in the promotion of Assamese literature, best evinced by the fitting place awarded to it in the scheme

of vernacular studies, and by the publication of *Descriptive Catalogue of Assamese Manuscripts*, and the six volumes of *Asamiya Sahityar Chaneki*. Mr. Borah has edited the book on up-to-date and scientific lines; the text has been collated from several manuscripts, and all archaic terms explained in the Glossary. The Introduction in English deals with Sankardev's first adoption of the dramatic medium for the propagation of Bhagavatism; the introduction of painted scenes, where Mr. Borah claims priority for Sankardev over his compatriots in India and Europe; Sankardev's creation of the Assamese romantic drama involving distinct departures from classical Sanskrit models, mainly illustrated in the continued association of the Sutradhar through the whole length of the performance, whereas in Sanskrit dramas the Sutradhar appears only once in the beginning to explain the drift of the play. The adoption of Brajabuli as the medium of Assamese Vaishnava dramas was necessary for imparting a sanctity to the characters who are invariably selected from the epics and the puranas, and besides, it was traditionally attributed to be the language of Brajadhama, the Land of Srikrishna, and was used by most of the Vaishnava writers of Northern India in the glorification of Srikrishna. All these matters have again been elaborately treated in the Assamese Introduction. The two Introductions bear sufficient evidence of the editor's acquaintance with the existing literature on the Indian drama, with which he has attempted to present the evolution and nature of Assamese drama in their true perspectives.

The eclecticism displayed by Mr. Borah and the Calcutta University in selecting this drama for publication has been a most judicious one, as *Rukmini-Haran-Nat* has an additional significance besides being mere instrument of religious propaganda. The romance of Rukmini is a national theme, as she was the daughter of King Bhismok, who figures in Assamese traditions as the ruler of Kundin or Sadiya. Sankardev, with subtle and intuitive knowledge of realities, exploited the vast potentiality of the theme of Rukmini in imparting the flavour of nationalism to the exotic materials of Vaishnava propaganda. The same story has been handled by him in a narrative masterpiece entitled *Rukmini-haran* which is Assamese to its very core.

Old Assamese dramas form a unique branch of our literature, waiting for the treatment in the hands of constructive literary historians, and we would ask some enterprising scholar to bring them out under one cover. Can we not expect Mr. Borah and the Calcutta University to undertake this much needed venture?

S. K. B.

Life and Teachings of Muhammad—This little pamphlet contains two Lectures delivered at different places by Annie Besant. The lectures were delivered with the express purpose of absolving the great Prophet of Arabia from the popular prejudices entertained against him in the Western World. We think that the object of the writer has been more than fulfilled and the Prophet as described in the pages of this little book stands before us in his true colour, and in his glory and real character. Besant's observation that "the introduction on Sale's Koran is a long libel and slander" is a correct estimate, and all kinds of false allegations were made against the prophet, most of which came from the conquered people as a natural consequence of the conquest made by the Saracens and the Moors when they conquered Europe. The first part of the book describes very graphically the awful condition of chaos into which Arabia was plunged when the prophet was born. Human beings were sacrificed before the idols worshipped by the people and even human flesh was taken as food. People lived a life of unchastity and profligacy, and every feeling of humanity was trampled under foot. The teachings of the prophet began amidst such scenes and surroundings, and it is a strong evidence of the inspired character of his mission when we find what admirable effect his teachings produced among his followers amidst such degrading environments and gradually effected great change among the people of Arabia. That people bore passionate love and devotion towards him and reposed unmeasurable trust in him—was of no mean consideration when the state of the country is remembered.

In the 8th century, the followers of the Prophet took up astronomy, first in translations into Arabic from great Hindu works, but it afterwards led to new discovery which later passed on to Europe. They then studied mathematics and showed wonderful skill in architecture. Annie Besant thinks that as there is practical identity of the Adwaita Vedanta with the presentment of metaphysics in Arabic, the study of the Muslim Doctors from 8th to 14th century would lead to fruitful result or reconciliation between the faith of the Muslims and the ancient religion of the Hindus, and this may prevent hostility between the different faiths. In Ethics also, Besant finds another point of union, where most exquisite moral teachings lie embedded.

In her second lecture Annie Besant mentions some of the objections and prejudices against the teachings of the great Prophet which she rightly concludes to be due to ignorance. One or two such prejudices and misunderstandings may here be stated to show how Besant tries to meet them. Many people entertain the idea that Islam was spread by the sword and it consequently led to bloodshed and caused religious wars. But Mrs.

Besant thinks that the Pagan Arabs terribly persecuted the earlier Muslims which took the form of horrible and unbearable physical tortures. It was purely in self-defence that the Prophet took up the sword. Another prejudice is to the effect that Islam sanctions polygamy. But Besant is of opinion that as unbridled licentiousness and profligacy were rampant in the country at that time, the Prophet limited the number of wives to four. Is it monogamy, Mrs. Besant asks, when there is outwardly one legal wife, but several mistresses out of sight ?

Towards the close of the pamphlet, Mrs. Besant quotes from the works on philosophy which greatly inculcates attainment of knowledge as the one great end of man. "The ink of the scholar is more valuable than the blood of the martyr." This love of knowledge led to the foundation of a great Philosophy and a great University. There is an Appendix at the close in which there is a beautiful poem about Being and Non-being much in the tenour of the Vedantic thought.

KOKILESWAR SASTRI

Sree Chaitanya and his Message of Devotion, by Dr. H. W. B. Moreno. It is a little book containing a brief account of the career of the Lord Gauranga from the date of his advent to the disappearance of his "mortal coil" at Puri. It has been written in a simple, plain, easy, and flowing style, sympathetic in its vein, and it breathes purity and inward devotion.

KOKILESWAR SASTRI

Viveka-Chudāmani—Translated into English by Mohini Mohan Chatterjee, F. T. S., and published by the Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras.

It is well-known among the Advaitists that Sankara's Viveka-Chudāmani gives, within a compass of about 600 stanzas, everything connected with the main position of Vedanta. The stanzas have been neatly rendered into English making them available to all whose knowledge in Sanskrit is meagre. So far as we have been able to examine, the translation is mostly accurate and faithful to the text. We would like to see this handy volume in the hands of all lovers of Vedanta. The get-up of the book is very good and is free from printing mistakes. First the Sanskrit text is given and below it its translation. The price is fixed at Rs. 2 only.

KOKILESWAR SASTRI

Ourselfes

KAMALA LECTURE FOR 1931.

- Dr. Syed Ross Masood has been appointed Kamala Lecturer for 1931 on the usual conditions, the subject of the lectures being “ Educational Reconstruction of India.”

* * *

SIR ASUTOSH MOOKERJEE PRIZE IN ANTHROPOLOGY.

The Sir Asutosh Mookerjee Prize in Anthropology for 1931 has been awarded to Dinendranath Ray of the 6th-year Anthropology class.

* * *

DATES FOR THE NEXT D.P.H. EXAMINATIONS.

The following commencing dates have been fixed for the D.P.H. Examination for 1933 :—

8th May, 1933—Part I of the Examination.

22nd May, 1933—Part II of the Examination.

* * *

DATES FOR THE I.E. AND B.E. EXAMINATIONS.

The following dates have been fixed for the I. E. and B. E. Examinations for 1933 :—

I. E., Section A..... 7th July, 1933.

I. E., Section B..... 17th July, 1933.

B.E., Non-professional (C.E.) 7th July, 1933.

B.E., Non-professional (M.E.) 17th July, 1933.

B.E., Professional (C.E.)... 17th July, 1933.

B.E., Professional (M.E.)... 17th July, 1933.

* * *

THE DEBENDRANATH-HEMLATA GOLD MEDAL FOR 1932.

Applications are hereby invited from candidates for the competition for the Debendranath-Hemlata Gold Medal for the year 1932.

The competition for the medal is limited to M.A., M.Sc., Ph.D., D.Sc., M.D., D.L., M.E., M.O. and M.S. of not more than three years' standing, and the standard of physical fitness shall be determined by the examination of the health of the competitors by the Students' Welfare Department of the Calcutta University as well as by application of such tests as may be decided upon by the Committee appointed for the purpose by the Syndicate.

Such applications from the entrants for the competition must reach the office of the Controller of Examinations, Calcutta University, by the 15th April, 1933.

*

*

*

COPY OF A LETTER, DATED THE 6TH JANUARY, 1933, FROM THE PRESIDENT, COLORADO SCHOOL OF MINES, GOLDEN, COLORADO, TO THE SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA, DEPARTMENT OF INDUSTRIES AND LABOUR, NEW DELHI.

The Colorado School of Mines offers for the School year 1933-34 one Scholarship to your country upon the proper recommendation of your Bureau of Education.

This scholarship exempts the holder from payment of all laboratory and tuition fees, with the exception of deposits, matriculation and student fees, and certain fees in Geophysics. This scholarship is for a period of four years or any part thereof, provided that the student maintains a satisfactory scholastic standing and complies with the general rules and regulations of the School. The value of the tuition and the laboratory fees will average approximately \$250 per year or \$1,000 for the four-year courses. This scholarship makes no provision for living or other expenses.

The School of Mines offers courses leading to degrees in mining engineering, metallurgical engineering, geological engineering, and

petroleum engineering. This School also offers elective courses in coal mining, fuel engineering, geophysics, and the production and utilisation of cements, refractories clays and other non-metallic minerals.

Applicants for scholarships must satisfy the entrance requirements as specified in the catalogue, pages 22 and 23. Their scholastic standing should be at least in the upper one-third of their high school, preparatory, or college classes. They may have recently completed their secondary or preparatory education, or they may have had several years of college work. Either will be accepted. They should be vigorous, both mentally and physically, and should possess character, courage, determination, force, and the ability to think clearly. Specifically, the applicant should possess scholarship and also those other qualifications essential to the making of an engineer. Students already in attendance at the School of Mines are not eligible for the scholarship.

These scholarships are offered for two reasons: first, that the young men receiving them may be benefited by the educational advantages offered by one of the oldest, most thorough, and best known mining schools in the world; second, that the School may attract to itself young men of the true engineering type, thereby making it possible to send to all parts of the world trained engineers who will be a credit to the country from which they come and to the School from which they have graduated.

We, therefore, solicit your co-operation in the selection of a young man of the type mentioned for this scholarship. May we ask that you communicate with the proper educational authorities and, should you have an applicant possessing the qualifications suggested, will you please recommend him for this scholarship. We should receive your recommendation of the applicant to be considered not later than August fifteenth.

You will find in the catalogue sent you under separate cover the details of entrance requirements and award of scholarships.

I thank you for your co-operation in this matter.

A. R. WADIA,
Secretary, Inter-University Board,
India.

*

*

*

COLORADO SCHOOL OF MINES, GOLDEN, COLORADO.

Requirements for Entrance.

Candidates for entrance to the freshman class must be graduates of a four-year accredited high school or must have completed equivalent courses of at least fifteen units under other satisfactory conditions.

Unit Course. A unit course of study is defined as a course covering a school year of not less than thirty-six weeks, with five weekly periods of at least forty-five minutes each.

Fifteen units are required for entrance, of which ten are specified and five may be chosen from a list of electives.

Specified Units.

Essentials of Algebra	...	1
Advanced Algebra	...	$\frac{1}{2}$
Plane Geometry	...	1
Solid Geometry	...	$\frac{1}{2}$
English	...	3
History	...	2
Chemistry	...	1
Physics	...	1
Specified Units	...	10
Elective Units	...	5
Total Units for Entrance	...	15

Elective Units.

History	...	2
English	...	1
Modern Language	...	2
Trigonometry	...	$\frac{1}{2}$
Mechanical Drawing	...	2
Commercial subjects	...	2
Latin	...	2
Shop Work	...	1
Biology	...	1

Other subjects taken in high school may be accepted by special permission of the Dean.

Entrance by Certificate.

A graduate of an accredited high school in the State of Colorado will be admitted without examination upon the presentation of proper credentials from the principal of his high school, provided he had completed the specified units required for entrance and ranks scholastically in the upper third of his class. Applications of those not in the upper third will be given careful consideration and each application will be acted upon individually. Application blanks for entrance will be furnished on application to the Registrar.

Graduates of accredited high schools or approved preparatory schools in other States will be accepted in the same manner as graduates of accredited high schools in Colorado.

Entrance by Examination.

Candidates who do not enter by certificate will be required to pass entrance examinations. These examinations are held in Golden at the beginning of each semester.

For the benefit of any student who cannot conveniently take the examination in Golden, arrangements may be made so that he may take the examination under the direction of some responsible person at or near his own home.

Conditions—Special Students.

No students are admitted who have not fulfilled all of the entrance requirements, nor are any undergraduate students permitted to enroll as special students.

Advanced Standing.

Applications who have partly completed the course in technical or scientific schools or colleges of good standing are admitted without examination upon the presentation of proper credentials. Due credit is allowed for the successful completion of work which is equivalent to that given in the Colorado School of Mines. Drawings, laboratory note books, and catalogues of the institutions attended should be submitted with applications for advanced standing. All credits are evaluated by the Advanced Standing Committee. Application blanks will be furnished by the Registrar on request, and should be returned to the Registrar at least one month prior to the date of registration.

No transfer student will be accepted at the Colorado School of Mines who has been dismissed from any other school of collegiate standing because of poor scholarship until his probation period at that school has expired. He may then be admitted on probation for one semester.

*

*

*

STUDENTS' WELFARE COMMITTEE ANNUAL REPORT FOR 1931.

During the year 1931 the activities of the Students' Welfare Scheme were considerably modified in accordance with the recommendations of the special Committee appointed by the Senate. The posts of the two Superintendents and that of a separate After-care Officer were retrenched with effect from 1st June, 1931. Mr. D. P. Banerjee, M.B., was, however, relieved of his duties as a medical examiner and requested to help the Secretary in following up and keeping under observation students suffering from serious diseases or defects. As in the previous year, the health examination was restricted to 1st-year students of Colleges in Calcutta and students attending non-aided recognised High Schools. The Medical Board attached to the Committee visited the following Colleges during the year :—

- (1) Asutosh College,
- (2) Narasingha Dutt College, Howrah,
- (3) City College,
- (4) Vidyasagar College,
- (5) Bangabasi College,
- (6) Presidency College,
- (7) St. Xavier's College,
- (8) St. Paul's College,

and the following Schools :—

- (1) Narikeldanga George High School,
- (2) Seal's Free College (High School).

The number of students examined during the year was, 260, bringing the total to 23,453.

Although the direct control of the Calcutta University Rowing Club is now vested in a separate committee; the Students' Welfare Committee has to bear the costs of running the Club. During the year an Inter-collegiate Rowing Competition, the first of its kind in the annals of the Club, was held in the Canals. Five crews from different colleges entered for the event. The Vidya-sagar and the Scottish Church Colleges were seen in the final and the latter ran out winners. The Scottish Church College is to be congratulated on its well-earned success. Thanks are due to the authorities and the Officers of the Bengal Chemical and Pharmaceutical Works for the great help which they gave us by placing at our disposal the grounds attached to their premises and for the arrangements which they made to receive and entertain the guests who braved the weather to witness the final. The Committee puts on record its great admiration for that noble patron of sports, the Hon'ble Raja Sir Manmathanath Roy Chaudhury of Santosh, who, in spite of considerable inconvenience, put off his departure from Calcutta specially to be present on the occasion. It is hoped that, under the new system of management, the University Rowing Club will become more popular with the students.

At the request of the authorities of the Exhibition attached to the Swadeshi-Mela held at 137, Bowbazar Street, Calcutta, illustrative charts and posters dealing with the different aspects of the health and welfare of the student population, were exhibited. A large number of pamphlets on "Food" by the late Dr. Rai Chunilal Bose, Bahadur was printed and circulated among the students. A second pamphlet on "Hints on the Care of the Eyes" was prepared during the year and is ready for distribution. We are glad to announce that arrangements have been made with prominent Optical Firms in Calcutta to supply spectacles to students recommended by the Students' Welfare Committee at concession rates. We take this opportunity of conveying our thanks to these firms for their help and co-operation. We hope that the authorities in charge of the different

institutions and the students will take the fullest advantage of this arrangement.

As previously mentioned, colleges and schools were examined during the year. Separate reports on the health of the students attending these institutions were sent to each of them. These reports included lists of defective students with the defects and diseases stated against their names and roll numbers together with recommendations for the management of these cases. Defect cards were also sent to these students individually by the After-care Officer. The number of defect cards issued during the year was 1,094. A large number of students was recalled for re-examination and out of these 131 were kept under observation.

The class of cases kept under observation was as follows :—

Heart	...	...	...	...	22
Lungs	...	...	...	...	24
Eye	...	...	...	...	38
Spleen	...	...	...	...	10
Mal-nutrition	...	...	...	...	24
Miscellaneous	...	...	...	...	13
TOTAL					131

Out of the cases re-examined six cases of Tuberculosis were detected and confirmed by special X-ray and sputum examinations. Of these two were advised to suspend their studies at least for a year. One of them died in May, 1932, one has been lost sight of, the remaining four are still under observation and keeping good health. The Committee is thankful to Dr. S. P. Bhattacharyya, M.D., a member of the Committee, for re-examining three of the above-mentioned cases and also for the arrangements which he made for admitting into the Carmichael Hospital of Tropical Diseases three students sent to him on different occasions for treatment. Of those students who failed to satisfy the Heart Test, about twenty were recommended to follow a system of graduated exercise. Most of them showed marked improvement during the period of observation, and they are to be thanked for their whole-hearted co-operation.

During the year thirty-three cases of defective eye-sight were specially re-examined and proper glasses were prescribed for them by Mr. D. P. Banerjee, M.B., the After-care Officer. Over two hundred recommendations were issued for supply of spectacles at concession rates and 8 pairs were supplied to needy students free of cost.

Six students applied to the Secretary requesting him to make suitable arrangements for treatment of surgical diseases. The Committee is greatly indebted to the Principal, Carmichael Medical College and Hospitals, for accommodating these students, and also to Dr. Subodh Dutt, M.B., F.R.C.S., etc., of the same Hospitals for the help which he rendered by examining several cases referred to him. The Secretary kept under observation about 250 students of the Mitra Institution, Bhowanipore, with a view to study the rate of growth of the Bengalee students.

Findings of Medical Examination.

The following Table shows at a glance the findings of medical inspection of pupils attending the High Schools and Colleges in Calcutta during the year 1931.

	College students, incidence per 100.	School students, incidence per 100.
Mal-nutrition	24·5	19·9
Skin diseases	21·9	11·8
Enlarged tonsils and adenoids	45·7	60·4
Heart	5·6	1·7
Spleen	7·9	2·5
Liver	1·8	1·5
Caries	11·3	14·4
Pyorrhoea	1·7	2·9
Visual defects	34·5	17·0

On comparing these findings with those of other years there appear to be fewer cases of mal-nutrition both among the School and College students.

There is a marked increase in the incidence of enlarged spleen among both the classes of students. The incidence of enlarged tonsils and adenoids also shows a sudden and marked increase. School students seem to suffer less from mal-nutrition, defective vision and diseases of the heart, but a larger number among them suffers from caries, pyorrhoea and enlarged tonsils and adenoids.

During the year better arrangements were made for "after-care" work. The authorities in charge of the Carmichael Medical College Hospitals and of the Carmichael Hospitals for Tropical Diseases provided facilities for the treatment of students referred to them by the department. Arrangements have also been made with different optical firms in the city to provide spectacles at concession rates to students recommended by the Committee.

*A preliminary study on the rate of growth of
Bengalee Students.*

In the last Annual Report it was pointed out that there was not much difference between the Bengalee child and the children of other countries at the age of 7, but from that period onwards the Bengalee child constantly lags behind as far as weight is concerned, till at the end of his school career he is decidedly inferior in weight to the English student, though he attains nearly the same height. Further studies brought out the fact that the average Bengalee College student at 18 is much lighter than a student of the same age of any other nation. This finding led me to take up the study of the rate of growth of the height, weight and ponderal-index of the Bengalee student as compared with that of the student from other countries. I shall first study the rates of growth in stature of the German, English, Japanese, Philipino and Bengalee students. Of these, the adult

Philipino approaches nearest the Bengalee adult average. The Japanese are shorter as a race, whereas the English and the German are far taller than the Bengalees. The figures for the English are taken from the report of the Chief Medical Officer to the Ministry of Health for the year 1927 ; those for the German, Japanese and Philipino have been taken from Martin's *Lehrbuch der Anthropologie* and the figures for the Bengalee students have been worked out from our own data.

The figures for different age-groups are shown in the following table :—

Age.	German.	English.	Japanese.	Philipino.	Bengalee.
6	118	107·5	106	109·5	...
	121·5	113	112	113·5	118·5
8	127	119·5	116	117	121
9	131	123	117·5	121	125·5
10	135·5	128	120	124·5	131
11	139·5	132	124·5	130	135
12	145·5	137·5	130	136	141·5
13	150·5	140·5	133·5	140	147·5
14	156	145	139	147	153
15	162·5	154·5	145	154	162
16	166	165	150	158	164
17	168·5	166	155	160·5	165·5
18	171	171	157	161	166

From the above table I find that

(1) The total gain in height for these nations between the ages 7 and 18, *i.e.*, a period of 11 years is as follows :—

German	...	...	49·5 cm.
English	...	...	58 "
Japanese	...	...	45 "
Philipino	...	...	47·5 "
Bengalee	...	...	47·5 "

or an average of 49·5 cm. in 11 years, *i.e.*, approximately 4·5 cm. per year.

(2) The rate of growth is not equal throughout the period. The major part of this increase in height takes place between the ages 11 and 16.

(3) The English, German and Japanese show a further increase in height beyond the age of 16, and in all these cases there is a period of comparative arrest at the age of 12 or 13.

(4) In the cases of the Bengalee and the Philipino the gain in height during the period 11 to 16 is more or less equally distributed, and in both it suffers an arrest after the age of 15, which is more marked in the case of the Bengalee.

The figures for the corresponding weight for these age-groups are given below :—

Age.	German.	English.	Japanese.	Philipino.	Bengalee.
7	23·7	20·7	19	20·3	21·1
8	26·2	23·2	19·6	21·2	22·1
9	27·8	24·9	21·8	23	24
10	30·6	27·1	23·5	25·8	26·5
11	33·1	29·4	25·9	28·4	28·4
12	37·1	32·4	28·2	31·1	31·9
13	41·6	34·8	33	35·1	36·1
14	46·1	39·1	38·8	41·4	38·8
15	51·7	45·1	42·2	45·4	47
16	56·2	53·6	45·6	47	48·9
17	59·2	55·8	49·7	48·9	49·8
18	63	58·5	50·4	51·2	50·8

(1) Thus the total gain in weight for the different peoples is as follows :—

German	...	...	39·3 kg.
English	...	...	37·8 „
Japanese	...	...	32 „
Philipino	...	...	30·9 „
Bengalee	...	...	29·7 „

or an average of 3 kg. per year.

(2) The total gain during this period is the lowest for the Bengalee and the highest for the German.

(3) The rate of increase is not equally distributed throughout.

(4) Between the ages 15 and 18 an increase over and above the normal of 3 kg. per year, is well marked among the German, English and Japanese students. This increase is not found among the Bengalee students.

(5) Between the ages 11 and 15 the gain in weight among these different nations is fairly equally distributed. The Germans, however, show a greater increase in weight. The Bengalees, on the other hand, show a smaller increase, which is particularly marked in the age-groups 13 and 14.

These two tables considered together lead me to the following conclusions :—

(1) That in the average Bengalee student the progress of growth is suddenly arrested at the age of sixteen.

(2) That throughout the growing period, the gain in Body weight is proportionately less than the increase in height.

This is very well shown in the chart of the Ponderal Indices of the peoples. The figures on which these curves are based are given in the following table :—

Age.	German.	English.	Japanese.	Philipino.	Bengalee.
7	2'37	2'44	2'42	2'39	2'33
8	2'33	2'38	2'32	2'36	2'32
9	2'32	2'38	2'38	2'35	2'30
10	2'32	2'34	2'38	2'38	2'27
11	2'30	2'34	2'38	2'35	2'26
12	2'29	2'32	2'34	2'31	2'26
13	2'29	2'33	2'40	2'34	2'24
14	2'30	2'34	2'44	2'35	2'22
15	2'29	2'30	2'40	2'32	2'24
16	2'30	2'28	2'38	2'28	2'23
17	2'31	2'30	2'38	2'28	2'22
18	2'33	2'27	2'35	2'30	2'23

The peculiar features of the curve for the Ponderal Index of the Bengalees are :—

(1) The steady and unbroken fall of the Ponderal Index throughout the period 7 to 16.

(2) The absence, in particular, of the sudden rise in Ponderal Index between the ages 12 and 14, shown by the other nations.

As this Index is pre-eminently a nutritional index and is extremely sensitive to all factors governing nutrition, I am led to conclude that some unusual strain, acting about this period, arrests this normal tendency to increase in Ponderal Index among the Bengalees. What this particular strain is, I am unable to specify at present. Most likely it is a combination of the three main factors which adversely affect nutrition, viz., faulty feeding, faulty exercise and over-work. I draw the attention of the guardians and authorities to this phenomenon with a view to impress on them the urgent necessity of keeping their wards in the best possible condition as regards diet, exercise and work during this period.

The incidence of diseases and variations in measurements among students coming from the different districts of Bengal and residing in Calcutta.

For a long time I have had the idea of undertaking a survey of the incidence of diseases among students coming from various parts of Bengal, district by district. Up till now we have examined over 23 thousand students and the total mass of material that has to be sifted and tabulated is enormous. The present office staff is very much over-worked and it is not possible at present to do justice to the valuable data that have been collected. That is the reason why the purely scientific or statistical side of the work, the value of which cannot be exaggerated, has not so long been taken up for proper investigation. Of over 45 different items entered against each student I have chosen only a few for a preliminary study.

The items chosen are :—

- (1) Ponderal Index
- (2) Enlarged Spleen
- (3) Enlarged Liver
- (4) Affections of the Heart
- (5) Affections of the Lungs
- (6) Adenoids
- (7) Genitalia (Hydrocele, Varicocele, etc.)
- (8) General defectives
- (9) Height
- (10) Weight
- (11) Cephalic Index

Of these the last three are of anthropometric interest. At the outset I must, however, point out, that the results obtained are not a picture of the general Bengalee population. They are based on the study of a selected group, *viz.*, the class which supplies students to the University. The incidence of the different elements composing this class is as follows :—

Brahmins 31% , Kayasthas 28% , Baidya 8% , other Hindus 19% , Mahomedans 7% , Christians 2·5% and unknown 4·5% .

Ponderal Index.

The distribution of Ponderal Index shows a low Ponderal Index for students from Midnapur, Howrah, 24-Parganas, Khulna and Bankura in South-west Bengal ; Maldah and Pabna in Northern Bengal ; and Chittagong in Eastern Bengal. Students from Eastern Bengal show a Ponderal Index above the average ; as also those from Northern Bengal with the exception of Pabna and Maldah. On the whole there is a rise in the Ponderal Index as we travel from South to North.

The lowest Ponderal Index is for the district of Midnapur, *viz.*, 2·9 and the highest for the district of Tipperah 2·27.

Enlarged Spleen.

The average incidence of enlarged Spleen for the whole of Bengal is 2%. The districts which show an incidence of over 4.5% are Burdwan, Bankura, Midnapur, 24-Parganas, Nadia, Rajshahi, Bogra and Chittagong. Dacca and Barisal (Buckergunge) show a particularly low rate .5 and 1 per cent. respectively. On the whole the districts of Eastern Bengal, excepting Chittagong, show a low incidence. The Districts of Northern Bengal show a very high incidence, the highest being at Bogra 7.7% ; South-west Bengal has also a fairly high incidence, the lowest being at Calcutta 1.7% and Hooghly 2% and the highest at Nadia 6.4% .

Enlarged Liver.

The districts which show a low incidence in the occurrence of enlarged Liver are Bankura and Hooghly in South-west Bengal, Buckergunge and Dacca in Eastern Bengal and Maldah, Jalpaiguri and Darjeeling in Northern Bengal. The districts which show a high incidence are Midnapur in South-west Bengal, Dinajpore and Bogra in Northern Bengal, and Mymensingh, Noakhali and Chittagong in Eastern Bengal.

Affections of the Heart.

The average incidence for the whole of Bengal is 4.5% . 24-Parganas show a particularly high incidence of 11.3% . The districts of Bankura, Hooghly, Howrah, Jessore and Khulna show a fairly high incidence, *i.e.*, above 6% . The districts of Murshidabad and Noakhali seem to be the least affected giving a percentage of 1.4% and 1.3% , respectively.

Affections of the Lungs.

The average incidence for the whole of Bengal is about 5% . The districts which show a high incidence are Dinajpore in Northern Bengal and 24-Parganas, Khulna and Jessore in South-west Bengal. The districts which show a moderate incidence

are Birbhum, Burdwan and Nadia in South-west Bengal. The incidence of Pulmonary disease in Eastern Bengal is uniformly low.

Adenoids.

The largest number of cases of Adenoids was found at Buckergunge. It is fairly common also in Burdwan, Mymensingh and Chittagong.

Genitalia.

Under this head have been grouped cases of Hydrocele, Varicocele and Chronic Orchitis. The first forms the preponderating factor and the distribution given will correspond mainly to the prevalence of hydrocele. The districts which are the most affected are Rangpore, Dinajpore, Malda, Nadia, Murshidabad, Birbhum, Bankura, Burdwan, Howrah and Hooghly, *i.e.*, those districts which are adjacent to the province of Behar and Orissa. The Southern districts—Midnapore, 24-Parganas and Khulna—show a moderate to low incidence, while all the districts of Eastern Bengal, except Chittagong, show a very low incidence.

General Defectives.

In this class are included all affections and ailments which need immediate medical attention and treatment, excepting visual and dental affections. Large proportions of these diseases are what are termed "Minor Ailments" and though they do not seriously affect life, they are sources of constant worry and trouble. This criterion is therefore a fair guide to the general health of a district. Judged by this standard, the districts of Bankura, Howrah and Hooghly are very unfavourable districts. All the districts of Eastern Bengal, with the exception of Chittagong, seem to be healthy. In Northern Bengal, Jalpaiguri and Rajshahi seem to be favourable areas. In South-west Bengal all the districts, except Birbhum and Jessore, have a moderate to high incidence and are not healthy places.

Height.

The average height for the Bengalees is 165-166 cm. The Bengalees are a medium-sized people, and in no district is the average below that of medium stature, and similarly in no district does the average reach the limit of the tall people. A strain of comparatively tall people giving an average of 166-168 cm. is found to inhabit the districts of Hooghly, Nadia, Pabna, Rangpur, Birbhum and Chittagong. Comparatively short-statured people are found in the districts of Midnapore, 24-Parganas, Jessore, Buckergunge, Bogra, Dinajpore and Jalpaiguri. In all these districts the average is below 165 cm.

It would, therefore, seem that a comparatively tall people inhabit the central districts of Bengal.

Weight.

The average weight of the Bengalees is 50·8 kg. The districts where it falls below average are Bankura, Midnapore, Khulna and Chittagong, the lowest being Midnapore with 49 kg. The highest average is at Rajshahi with 54 kg.

Cephalic Index.

The average Cephalic Index is 79. The Bengalees are predominantly a meso-cephalic people. Mymensingh is the only district where a distinctly dolicho-cephalic average is found, viz. 75·2. A meso-brachycephalic average of over 80 is found in the districts of Jessore, Faridpur, Khulna and Hooghly. The people of South-west Bengal are meso-cephalic and give averages between 78 and 80. The people of Eastern Bengal are on the whole dolicho-meso-cephalic and give averages which are below 78. In the Northern districts this tendency to dolicho-cephaly again reappears in the districts of Rangpur and Maldah. If we combine the distribution of Height and Cephalic Index we notice that in the central

districts of Bengal we meet with a strain which is above the medium height, *i.e.*, with a tendency to tallness and meso-brachy-cephalic, *i.e.*, with a tendency to brachicephaly. The district of Birbhum is an exception to the general distribution in South-west Bengal, a strain with a tendency to tallness and dolicho-meso-cephaly being met with. In Eastern Bengal the type shows a tendency to shortness and is mainly dolicho-meso-cephalic. This is most marked in the district of Mymensingh where the people are distinctly dolicho-cephalic and of short medium stature. In the district of Chittagong we meet again a tall meso-cephalic group.

A. CHATTERJEE,

Hony. Secretary.

*

*

*

A PROTEST.

DEAR SIR,

In your issue for Nov.-Dec., 1932, p. 170, in the article, "Buddhism and Vedanta," the writer has misquoted from a little book I wrote twenty years ago to this effect :—I said as follows : "the late Professor Pischel wrote...With Garbe and Jacobi I am convinced that Buddha as a philosopher is entirely dependent on Kapila and Patanjali." The *present writer* Swami Jagadīśwarananda quotes this *as if* I were expressing my own opinion. This is wrong even concerning my views in 1912, and to that extent I have not changed those views. I held and still hold, that both Garbe's and Jacobi's opinion as followed by Pischel were very immature and unbalanced on this point. In the first place it is unfit to speak of "Buddha" as "a philosopher," as German scholars or we understand the term, to wit, as a great pundit. Gotama Sakyamuni was immensely greater than any pundit; he was

a divinely inspired Helper of men. And he never bothered himself with erecting any system of word architecture to explain the cosmos, within or without. In the second place, had he been classifiable as a pundit, a "sophistes," a philosopher, he would certainly have never been "dependent" on any man, entirely or even in part. He was he: the man of a New Word, not the follower, not the dependent, save only of the Highest whom he worshipped as the sense of the right, of the better, of the 'ought' in man: "that Deity within my bosom," "Dharma."

This much I would say in self-defence concerning an article the merits in which I gladly acknowledge. In it the writer further errs, for me, in saying "Buddha said," where all we have is what the after-men have *made him say*. In both cases it is the way of citation to which I demur.

C. A. F. REYS DAVIDS

The Calcutta Review



HIS MAJESTY THE SHAH OF PERSIA

THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

MAY, 1933

HIS EXCELLENCY'S SPEECH AT THE CONVOCATION OF THE CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY ON 25TH MARCH 1933.

MR. VICE-CHANCELLOR, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

Let me begin by thanking you all for the welcome you have extended to me on the first occasion of my coming among you as your Chancellor, and you, Sir, particularly, for the warmth of the terms in which the University's welcome has been expressed. I fully recognised that, whatever may be the position in other countries, in India the post of Chancellor is no mere titular honour but a position carrying with it serious duties and responsibilities. It is for this very reason, as it seems to me, that there may be solid advantages both to the University and to Government in the statutory provision which requires one man to double the rôles of Chancellor and Governor. Embarrassing as the position may sometimes be to the holder it affords to either body an interpreter to the other of its aims and of its methods. University and Government alike have their definite responsibilities under the Act but, as both are prompted by the same ideal, "The advancement of Learning," there is no very obvious reason why these respective responsibilities should lead to antagonism. It will be my earnest endeavour while I am your Chancellor to ensure that the friendly relations of mutual understanding which

were established in the time of my predecessor shall continue and develop, and to that end I can assure you that the good offices which my dual capacity enables me to exercise will be at the disposal of both, to smooth over such differences as may from time to time arise and to promote the good of the University and of education generally in this Province, in both of which, alike as Chancellor and as Governor, I am keenly interested. Having this as my inspiration I am emboldened to express the hope that the University will find me not less sympathetic and helpful than my predecessor to whom the Vice-Chancellor has paid an eloquent and well-merited tribute this afternoon.

The Syndicate and Senate, as was only to be expected, have given expression to their sense of the menace which the cult of terrorism offers to the progress of true education and indeed to the advancement of the general interests of the country. I trust that they will not permit their disapproval to stop short at mere expression but that they will actively exert their influence over students and guardians alike to counteract the insidious poison of this pernicious doctrine. I would also take this opportunity most heartily to endorse what has fallen from the Vice-Chancellor this afternoon on the subject of the participation by students in active party politics generally. Interest in the social and political problems of the day is one thing,—the students of to-day are the voters of to-morrow and the study of the various problems of citizenship can hardly be taken up too early,—but active participation in the political conflicts of the day is quite another thing and cannot be indulged in without detriment to those qualities both of intellect and of character which it is the principal aim of a University education to foster. I would most earnestly appeal to all those whose studies are as yet uncompleted not to allow themselves to be diverted from the purpose which brings them together in schools and colleges into what must be to them at present the barren wastes of municipal or national polemics.

As we have been reminded by the Vice-Chancellor, the University has during the past year suffered serious losses by

death and by retirement. We remember with gratitude all these members of this Senate, distinguished in their various spheres, who have contributed to the good name of the University and thereby to the service of the country. Their memory cannot but stand as a challenge to the present generation to emulate their achievements and to equal or surpass them in their contribution to the changing requirements of the times.

We are particularly loath to lose the services of Professors so distinguished in their own line as Sir Venkata Raman and Colonel Green-Armytage. Sir Venkata Raman has already left Calcutta for Bangalore to join his new appointment as Director of the Indian Institute of Science. He is the first Indian to be selected for that post and though his loss will be a serious one to the University, we are glad to think that he is not cutting himself completely adrift from us. Colonel Green-Armytage is leaving India to take up an appointment of eminence in his profession in London and in his case we can only console ourselves with the thought that Calcutta's loss will be London's gain.

On the other side the University is to be congratulated on having secured the services of eminent lecturers from India and from outside to bring to our graduates the fruits of their own experience and research in many fields.

I join with the Vice-Chancellor in welcoming the munificence of Dr. Harendra Coomar Mookerjee whose generous offer takes a most practical form. It is no disparagement of previous benefactions to stress the obvious advantages—amid the conditions, especially, with which we are faced to-day—of an offer which provides stipends rather than gold medals and envisages practical as well as theoretical training. We are under a deep debt of gratitude to Dr. Mookerjee: my hope is that others will be inspired by his example to make endowments of a similar character for vocational education.

The Vice-Chancellor has referred to certain important changes, favoured by the Senate, in the regulations governing the curriculum of the Matriculation Examination. Of these perhaps

the most far-reaching as well as the most controversial is the provision for instruction and examination through the medium of the vernacular. This is a matter of very great importance to the future of Bengal and one on which strong views are held and cogent arguments can be adduced on one side and the other. It is a matter calling for the most careful consideration of Government, but I shall make it my object to see that the proposal is dealt with as expeditiously as is consistent with the importance of the issues involved. Considerable discussion there is bound to be and I have no doubt that the Hon'ble Minister will give opportunity for the elucidation and, if possible, the solution in Conference of any points of difference or difficulty that may emerge.

I have learnt with interest that the University are studying the possibilities of Sir Daniel Hamilton's proposals for the employment of young men of the *bhadralog* class in co-operative work, rural reconstruction and the development of agriculture. I shall be glad to see the conclusions at which the University's Committee of investigation arrive.

So far, ladies and gentlemen, I have confined myself to commenting upon a few of the many points which caught my attention in the Vice-Chancellor's interesting address and I do not claim the merit of any great degree either of originality or of vision for the comments which I have felt prompted to make. I am free to acknowledge—and I do so with regret—that during the 12 months that I have been in Bengal I have been kept so fully occupied with other matters that I have not been able to devote to the province of University affairs the time and thought which I recognise the subject demands. I hope in the coming year and those that are to follow to be able in some measure to supply the omission not only in what may be regarded as the sphere of University affairs, but also in the sphere of Education generally,—for from what I read and hear and see I am convinced that there is much to be done : much, that is to say, that calls urgently for investigation and improvement : much that can only

be accomplished by the co-operation of all the authorities interested in the development of a sound educational system. That much has been accomplished in the past I do not doubt. It must be a source of gratification to all concerned in the administration and teaching of the University—and it is a matter of sincere satisfaction to Government also,—that in certain directions the University of Calcutta has made rapid and definite progress in recent years. In post-graduate teaching and research, development has been particularly fruitful. You have among you investigators who have earned reputations extending far beyond the boundaries of this province and country. You have provided the necessary facilities for many of your ablest graduates to continue their studies under expert guidance. All this is good and the University may justly be proud of it. But there are other aspects of our educational system which we cannot regard with complacency—aspects which vitally concern us as a University, as a Government, as a Province, as a people.

No one can study the latest general survey of Indian education, the report of the Hartog Committee, without being driven to the conclusion that while Bengal may lead all the provinces in the number of her educational institutions she no longer enjoys her old position of pre-eminence in the quality of the training these institutions impart. There is evidence which, I am afraid, we cannot ignore that Bengal no longer leads the way in education. It is the fact that in the open competitive examinations our youths no longer hold their own. Can one doubt that the standards of the Universities in some of the other Provinces are higher or that their schools and colleges are on the average better equipped and manned than ours? Leaving out of account comparison with other provinces, what do comparative figures for Bengal alone show? In the five years ending with the year 1931-32 our colleges increased by seven, from 44 to 51, but the numbers of students on the rolls fell during the same period from over 25,000 to just over 21,500. Does not this betoken a dissipation of effort? And if that is the

position with the colleges, the position with the recognised schools is still worse. The number of high schools in Bengal is greater than that of any two provinces put together, but their general standard is undoubtedly far too low. No school can give proper training which has not at its disposal adequate financial resources for staff and equipment yet the enormous number of our high schools reduces at once the average fee income and the average grant that is available to each so that most of them must exist precariously, unable to offer terms which the best teachers may justly expect or to provide the equipment necessary for a wide range of studies. This, I feel, is a very serious problem, for the results of the present system are not confined to the academic side. It is not merely that too many of our students come up ill-trained and ill-prepared but that a great number of them finish their educational career without having had the least chance to acquire those characteristics of mind and character which alone can make them useful in the public life of their country,—independence of judgment, habits of discipline, of self-restraint and of co-operation, tolerance and understanding of other points of view, initiative and enterprise, readiness to shoulder responsibility, and the patience of true wisdom. In the future,—the very near future—when Bengal is called upon to undertake the responsibilities of an autonomous province, these are the qualities which she will demand of her sons and daughters. My fear is that if they are not developed in school and college they will not be developed at all.

And again, are we not now all coming round to the view that our present system of training, the somewhat narrow, uniform, literary training that is given in our schools, is responsible in some measure at least for the accentuation of our present economic and social difficulties, the widespread unemployment, the distress of the lower middle classes, the failure to create and take advantage of new avenues of honourable industry and business? Many boys come to school and go on to college because they cannot find anything else to do : but

when they pass out of school and college they are little better off and have the added grievance of an education that proves disappointing and deceptive.

I have alluded to the Hartog report,—Sir Philip Hartog is not one who need be suspected of being out of sympathy with Indian educational ideals and Indian Universities. Let me now give you a quotation from a book which I have recently been reading,—the “Life and Experiences” of one to whom this University owes much,—Sir Prafulla Chandra Ray. “The two Universities of Calcutta and Madras have become two huge factories for mass production of graduates. As if these were not enough, a number of new Universities have recently cropped up in quick succession.....This inordinate insane craze—almost a mania—for securing a degree has been working infinite mischief—it has become almost a canker eating into the very vitals of intellectual life and progress.” And he goes on to explain that “A serious drawback incidental to, and I am afraid almost inseparable from, the present ill-understood and misconceived notions of University training is that the young man thus turned out betrays, as a rule, lamentable lack of initiative, resourcefulness and pluck when he is thrown upon the world and has to fight his way through it. While there is a gain in quantity, there is a corresponding deterioration in quality.”

These are not my words : they have fallen from one whose own academic record is of the highest distinction and whose independence of outlook moreover no one would, I believe, question.

Now, ladies and gentlemen, these problems exist and no one can shut his eyes to their existence. I mention them to-day not because I have any ready-made solution,—still less in any spirit of criticism or with any intention of imputing blame. As I have said on another occasion, we have to a large extent inherited a system which has given good service in its day, but has now outlived the period of its maximum utility. The point

that I am anxious to make to-day is this :—in the system of our higher education three authorities are concerned—Government and the two Universities of Calcutta and Dacca. As matters stand no one of these can hope single-handed to solve even those problems with which it is itself primarily concerned. Taking the problem as a whole it is essentially a case for concerted action for a pooling of experience and ideas. Matters like the overhauling of the examination system, the reformation of the school curriculum, the re-organisation of school and college education generally, the possibility of linking up University activities with practical experience in industry and commerce,—these are but a few of the problems for the successful solution of which friendly and intimate discussion between the three authorities interested seems to afford the best if not the only prospect.

Take again a matter like vocational guidance, a subject to which the Vice-Chancellor has made reference to-day. Vocational guidance would seem to be a matter primarily for the Universities themselves, professing as they do to equip their students for the responsibilities of life, but here again I am far from saying that Government may not be able to help.

So far as Government are concerned, I know that Government are anxious to enlist the co-operation of the Universities to the highest degree. We have of recent years seen matters tackled in this way with satisfaction to all parties concerned. Let us have more of it. How we are to proceed as regards each particular problem will depend on the nature of the problem itself: for example, as regards the proposed changes in the Matriculation regulations I am inclined to think that a conference will be the best way of ensuring a thorough examination of the points at issue. Other problems may demand other methods: but what I am anxious to secure,—anxious, both as Governor and as Chancellor, and anxious, if I may say so, as a well-wisher of the rising generation in this Province,—is that,

however, we may decide to tackle these problems we may work together for their solution and avoid cross-purposes and misunderstandings in the pursuit of a common end. That is my message to the University to-day and as I indicated at the beginning of my address, I am willing and indeed eager to do all that is in my power in my triple capacity as head of the Government and as Chancellor of two Universities to secure the smooth and effective working of any machinery we may together devise for the examination and solution of the vast problems that are before us.

But in looking to the future I must not forget the present or those who to-day have received in doctorates, medals and diplomas the hall-mark of a University training. To them I offer my sincere congratulations and good wishes. Some few, I do not doubt, intend to remain and seek higher honours in the branches of learning of their choice. Others—and they must be the great majority—are now going out into the world and going at a time when if the economic horizon is still clouded with difficulties there would seem to be a good prospect of new life and fresh development for this Province under the political and financial arrangements outlined in the pronouncement of His Majesty's Government. To those who find themselves after years of preparation now on the threshold of a career, may I in the University's name and my own, express the hope that they may be wisely guided and that the world may use them well ?

ODE TO EVENING

This stillness doth bequeath to me a mood
 That prompteth the fair shell to ring—
 A song that suiteth well this quietude—
 Like Angels' saintly communing—

When Heaven's chovi

Doth faintly rise, as buds' desire—
 Or like the fragrant calm in forlorn wood!

Not to the wan bright Hesper is this song—
 Nor to the last chip in the brake—
 But hollow echoes of this world's strange wrong
 Well through its melodies awake—

Awake to reason

The hearts of clod, the minds of treason,
 And he for natures like some Michael's thong.

If naught of dreamy note, nor languid whistle
 From the high-hole, ere to his nest
 He's slunk : or nought of whirl, near thistle
 And thyme, ere flies have flown to rest—

Sounds from my shell—

A sorrow-flute-tone here will swell—
 That shall incite to war the wrongèd breast!

LOUIS M. EILSHEMIUS

IN MEMORY OF SCOTT

Students of English literature all over the world owe a debt of gratitude to the memory of Sir Walter Scott. Whatever may be their after-thoughts, however they may have outgrown Scott as people in all times are apt to outgrow their predecessors, it is undeniable that Scott has been a part of their heritage, that in the impressionable years of early youth they had been nursed on the poetry and novels of Scott. The magic of his imagination had taken them captive, the tales of border raids had made their blood tingle, narratives of derring-do had taught them to love and appreciate manly fight in a noble cause, before they had or could have come upon pleasures of poetic vision on deep communion with nature and on inspired moments when the reader himself ceases to be a bodied creature and flies in rapture over space and time infinite. When the hundred years have run their rounds, the student of English literature feels therefore bound to remember what space the poetry of Scott fills in his cultural get-up. This is all the excuse, if excuse is needed, when we propose to pay a tribute to the memory of the great Scottish poet who had died a hundred years ago.

The great poet is thus a matter of reminiscence to most of us, a reminiscence which brings back the memory of the past, when action and not meditation seemed more natural as the thing that mattered in the course of life, when a stag drinking his fill by the brink of a river or a rider clad in mail and coursing through a wide glen, spear in hand and bold at heart, struck a sympathetic chord in us and we were lulled into an oblivion of our drab surroundings and woke into a world of beauty, bravery, pomp and circumstance which was all the more attractive for its strangeness. To us born in the East the strangeness was much greater in extent and degree, but that did not at all stand in the way of our enjoyment of these poems of border warfare, glittering pageants of high-souled knights, courtly warriors, well-born

damselfs, and minstrels devoted to their cause. How much of this pleasure of reminiscence will stand the test of modern criticism, remains to be seen as time passes on. In his *Reflections on the French Revolution*, Burke deplored the end of the age of chivalry ; and though there had been attempts before Scott to reproduce the medieval times in which feudalism was the order of the day, all of them were miserable failures, but the Scottish poet brought back the past which, Burke and his hearers thought, had perished out of all existence. This was natural for him to have done, because though he was of the 18th century, he lived in the spirit of the Middle Ages. In spite of the shrewd man of business which he undoubtedly was, he did not cease to love and care for the current of life which ran through Europe, and more specially through Scotland, and made the country fertile with generous impulses and heroic actions. Even when he had not thought of turning out as a poet or a novelist of distinction, singing and describing the times which were so dear to his heart, he had carefully snatched from oblivion old refrains and border songs, cherished in his memory village anecdotes, searched far and wide for forgotten worthies and deposited them all in the tablets of his memory which were to be of so much service to him in later times.

As a poet, we remember him first of all in his four poetic romances—*Lay of the Last Minstrel*, *Marmion*, *Rokeby* and *Lord of the Isles*. The last of the minstrels was indeed his own self, who had caught somewhat of the “refinement of modern poetry without losing the simplicity of his original model,” as he quaintly and modestly described it. He regretted the death of his “tuneful brethren” and he in his own way continued the “unpremeditated lay,” not only for lords and ladies gay, but for all others besides who could and cared to read such verses. Here he limits the scope of his poetry ; he knew that he lacked in subtleties and refinements of his times and that what he wanted was not to excel in these but to represent and re-tell in verse what his own poets, generations past, had described and narrated. The

simplicity of his themes, though much we may laugh at it now, was thus the result of a deliberate choice, and when we read Sir Walter's verse tales it is necessary that we should remember it.

Scott was a poet of humanity but not of all humanity, only of certain classes and of those classes more regarding their actions than their impulses, more of straight fight, of soldiers marching in the battle array with glittering armour than of philosophers trying to reform the world with new gospels suited to modern tastes and modern times ; the limitations are apparent on the surface and need not flutter us out of all appreciation of the poet. Let us now turn to his favourite mode of introducing his stock character—the knight. The gates of the well-guarded castle are opened, tall yeomen raise the portcullis, the draw-bridge falls, and then the Knight appears to view: this is how Lord Marmion comes within our ken. We forget for the time being the gorgeous colour and rich trappings: the blue ribbon and the blue brodered rein of his charger: the falcon on his crest, dark and flying on an azure field: the rich polish of gold embossing his costly helmet; these with his attendants are but subordinate to the main subject, the Knight himself. This is how he strikes the simple spectator:

Along the bridge Lord Marmion rode,
Proudly his red-roan charger trode,
His helm hung at the saddlebow ;
Well by his visage you might know
He was a stalworth knight, and keen,
And had in many a battle been ;
The scar on his brown cheek reveal'd
A token true of Bosworth field ;
His eyebrow dark, and eye of fire,
Show'd spirit proud, and prompt to ire ;
Yet lines of thought upon his cheek
Did deep design and counsel speak.
His forehead, by his casque worn bare,
His thick moustache, and curly hair,

Coal-black, and grizzled here and there,
 But more through toil than age ;
 His square-turn'd joints, and strength of limb,
 Show'd him no carpet knight so trim,
 But in close fight a champion grim,
 In camps a leader sage.

(Canto I)

Scott has drawn not only the soldier who has won recognition in society and is thus well groomed and sumptuously equipped, but also the daring mountaineer who, in his plaid and sword in hand, is a dreadful person to encounter by the side of a rock, under the shades of eve, and with a watch-fire close before him. Fitz-James found it so to his great risk and had to save himself with great trouble, as the poet has narrated in his *Lady of the Lake*, drawn in sympathy now to one of the combatants, now to the other.

The story of such a dreadful combat is thus vividly told in Scott's own words :

Full at Fitz-James' throat he sprung;
 Received but reck'd not of a wound,
 And lock'd his arms his foeman round.
 Now, gallant Saxon, hold thine own !
 No maiden's hand is round thee thrown !

.....
 The Chieftain's gripe his throat compress'd,
 His knee was planted in his breast ;
 His clotted locks he backward threw
 Across his brow his hand he drew,
 From blood and mist to clear his sight,
 When gleam'd aloft his dagger bright !

.....
 But, while the dagger gleam'd on high,
 Reel'd soul and sense, reel'd brain and eye,
 Down came the blow—but in the heath ;
 The erring blade found bloodless sheath."

(The Lady of the Lake, Canto V, XVI.)

But Scott is not only a poet of fights of clanging armour and blows on coats of mail, he can also draw the hero in a pose of defence, as just before the fight described above when the low-land knight stood at bay before a swarm of mountaineers who stood up from nowhere suddenly at the bidding of their leader ;

He mann'd himself with dauntless air,
Returned the Chief his haughty stare,
His back against a rock he bore,
And firmly placed his foot before ;
' Come one, come all ! this rock shall fly
From its firm base as soon as I.'

(*Ibid*, X.)

Thus he has drawn his soldiers in motion and repose in vivid outline and he has also sung their dirge in verses which may survive the touch of time.

He is gone on the mountain,
He is lost to the forest,
Like a summer-dried fountain,
When our need was the sorest.
The font, reappearing,
From the rain-drops shall borrow,
But to us comes no cheering,
To Duncan no morrow !

The hand of the reaper
Takes the ears that are hoary,
But the voice of the weeper
Wails manhood in glory.
The autumn winds rushing
Waft the leaves that are searest,
But our flower was in flushing,
When blighting was nearest.

Fleet foot on the correi,
Sage counsel in cumber,
Red hand in the foray,
How sound is thy slumber !

Like the dew on the mountain,
 Like the foam on the river,
 Like the bubble on the fountain,
 Thou art gone, and for ever!

(Lady of the Lake, Canto III.)

He has also described how maidens sang charmed rhymes to cast spells on wandering knights, to lull them to sleep after the day's fight was done. The first half of such a song, reproduced below, is written in Scott's best style :

Soldier, rest! thy warfare o'er,
 Sleep the sleep that knows not breaking;
 Dream of battled fields no more,
 Days of danger, nights of waking.
 In our isle's enchanted hall,
 Hands unseen thy couch are strewing,
 Fairy strains of music fall,
 Every sense in slumber dewing.
 Soldier, rest! thy warfare o'er,
 Dream of fighting fields no more:
 Sleep the sleep that knows not breaking,
 Morn of toil, nor night of waking.

No rude sound shall reach thine ear,
 Armour's clang, or war-steed champing,
 Trump nor pibroch summon here
 Mustering clan, or squadron tramping.
 Yet the lark's shrill fife may come
 At the day-break from the fallow,
 And the bittern sound his drum,
 Booming from the sedgy shallow.
 Ruder sounds shall none be near,
 Guards nor warders challenge here,
 Here's no war-steed's neigh and champing,
 Shouting clans, or squadrons stamping.

Nor has woman been an object of indifferent interest. It is admitted that Scott's heroines do not admit of much variation, they are all staid, sober, loving and lovely, but they never rebel

stoutly against parental authority, love steels their heart to a limited extent, passive, obedient, demure, they stand in his poems emblems of womanly virtue, objects of our regard, but never touching our hearts except in a crisis. Many are the poems in which womanly beauty, maidenly virtue, virgin's love, a matron's feeling find adequate expression. We recall the maiden's prayer to the Virgin from which a few lines only are given below :

Ave Maria! maiden mild!
 Listen to a maiden's prayer!
 Thou canst hear though from the wild,
 Thou canst save amid despair.
 Safe may we sleep beneath thy care,
 Though banish'd, outcast, and reviled;
 Maiden! hear a maiden's prayer—
 Mother, hear a suppliant child!
 Ave Maria!

(Lady of the Lake, Canto III, XXIX.)

The poet has not been so much keen on fights as to lose all relish of love; the two receive treatment from him in their turns. The hero who leaves his partner at home to waft her soul in lonely sighs, who is dull to all promptings of love, is for him drawn in lines which may live. This from *Quentin Durward*, for many of Scott's fine lyrics are to be had interspersed in his *Waverley Novels* :—

Ah! County Guy, the hour is nigh,
 The sun has left the lea,
 The orange flower perfumes the bower,
 The breeze is on the sea.
 The lark, his lay who thrill'd all day,
 Sits hush'd his partner nigh;
 Breeze, bird, and flower, confess the hour,
 But where is County Guy?
 The village maid steals through the shade,
 Her shepherd's suit to hear;
 To beauty shy, by lattice high,
 Sings high-born Cavalier.

The Star of Love, all stars above,
 Now reigns o'er earth and sky ;
 And high and low the influence know,
 But where is County Guy !

A more graphic portrait and a more positive mood of neglect have been drawn in his Maid of Neidpath where the Maid, made ill by constant pining, has been waiting her lover's return with a beating heart, watching with tragic shadow in her heart and half dreading and half welcoming the return, the tense excitement which the contending feelings roused imparting to her almost a preternatural power and keenness of observation :

All sunk and dim her eyes so bright,
 Her form decay'd by pining,
 Till through her wasted hand, at night,
 You saw the taper shining ;
 By fits, a sultry hectic hue
 Across her cheek was flying ;
 By fits, so ashy pale she grew,
 Her maidens thought her dying.

Yet keenest powers to see and hear
 Seem'd in her frame residing ;
 Before the watch-dog prick'd his ear
 She heard her lover's riding ;
 Ere scarce a distant form was ken'd,
 She knew, and waved to greet him ;
 And o'er the battlement did bend,
 As on the wing to meet him.

He came—he pass'd—an heedless gaze,
 As o'er some stranger glancing ;
 Her welcome, spoke in faltering phrase,
 Lost in his courser's prancing.
 The castle arch, whose hollow tone
 Returns each whisper spoken,
 Could scarcely catch the feeble moan
 Which told her heart was broken.

The false lover has so often received his censure and the hapless

maiden so much of his sympathy. The wounded baron is nursed by a maid who loved him, gentle Clare by name, and he takes the opportunity to address and draw attention of the reader to the fact that in times of danger the nobility of women always rises to the surface. The lines will be easy to recall :

O Woman! in our hours of ease,
Uncertain, coy, and hard to please,
And variable as the shade
By the light quivering aspen made ;
When pain and anguish wring the brow,
A ministering angel thou !

(Marmion, Canto VI, XXX.)

Another of his songs foretells that the false lover shall rest under the willow, dead before his prime, struck down by an enemy's hand, dishonoured in a lost fight (Marmion, Canto III). And companion to the Maid of Neidpath, there is this song in which the soldier lover leaves his lady-love for evermore :

A weary lot is thine, fair maid,
A weary lot is thine :
To pull the thorn thy brow to braid,
And press the rue for wine.
A lightsome eye, a soldier's mien,
A feather of the blue,
A doublet of the Lincoln green,—
No more of me you knew,
My love !
No more of me you knew.

This morn is merry June, I trow,
The rose is budding fain :
But she shall bloom in winter snow,
Ere we two meet again.
He turned his charger as he spake,
Upon the river shore,
He gave his bridle-reins a shake,
Said, 'Adieu for evermore,
My love !
And adieu for ever more.

Thus Scott's idea of love is not entirely blind to the frequent tragedy accompanying it in life, he knew that love and war appeal often to different chords in man's heart and though he has sung of both he knew they were at variance sometimes and the course of true love did not always run smooth. At least on this point his vision and interpretation of life was not all moonshine, and he deserves to be heard instead of being simply dismissed with a cheap sneer at what has been called his smile of goodness. War he has seen in his mind's eye and he could not have been blind to the break-up of family and social life which would follow as a matter of course any response to such an appeal as he issued :

Come away, come away,
 Hark to the summons ;
 Come in your war array,
 Gentles and commons.

 Come every hill-plaid, and
 True heart that wears one,
 Come every steel-blade, and
 Strong hand that bears one.

Leave untended the herd,
 The flock without shelter;
 Leave the corpse uninterred,
 The bride at the altar ;
 Leave the deer, leave the steer,
 Leave nets and barges :
 Come with your fighting gear,
 Broad-swords and targes.

Come as the winds come, when
 Forests are rended,
 Come as the waves come, when
 Navies are stranded;
 Faster come, faster come,
 Faster and faster,

Chief, vassal, page and groom,
Tenant and master.

Life and death, love and hate, loyalty and treachery, he had seen them in operation either in real life or through his vivid imagination and had taken stock of them all. The web of life was compounded of joy and sorrow and to illustrate this he composed his spindle song, to be sung in accompaniment to the working of the loom, as follows :—

Twist ye, twine ye! even so
Mingle shades of joy and woe,
Hope, and fear, and peace, and strife,
In the thread of human life.

While the mystic twist is spinning,
And the infant's life beginning,
Dimly seen through twilight bending,
Lo! what varied shapes attending!

Passions wild, and follies vain,
Pleasures soon exchanged for pain;
Doubt, and jealousy, and fear,
In the magic dance appear.

Now they wax, and now they dwindle,
Whirling with the whirling spindle.
Twist ye, twine ye! even so
Mingle human bliss and woe.

This was all the philosophy that he could give utterance to. It was not in him to give more, and his readers also did not and should not find fault with him on that score. But though Scott is mainly interested in humanity and not in subtleties of the human mind nor in any poetic vision into the mysteries of the universe, he could thoroughly enjoy nature for which he had an observant eye, even apart from historical interest. This is very generally ignored when we form and give currency to general estimates about his work. Two examples of his nature descriptions of this kind may well be given here. One is the well

known description of sunset on the rocky glen, in the first canto of the *Lady of the Lake* :

The western waves of ebbing day
 Roll'd o'er the glen their level way;
 Each purple peak, each flinty spire,
 Was bathed in floods of living fire.
 But not a setting beam could glow,
 Within the dark ravines below
 Where twined the path in shadow hid,
 Round many a rocky pyramid,
 Shooting abruptly from the dell
 Its thunder-splinter'd pinnacle;
 Round many an insulated mass,
 The native bulwarks of the pass,
 Huge as the tower which builders vain
 Presumptuous piled on Shina's plain.
 The rocky summits, split and rent,
 Form'd turret, dome or battlement,
 Or seem'd fantastically set
 With cupola or minaret,
 Wild crests as pagod ever deck'd,
 Or mosque of Eastern architect.

The other may be found in the beginning of the fourth canto in *The Lord of the Isles* :

STRANGER! if e'er thine ardent step hath traced
 The northern realms of ancient Caledon,
 Where the proud Queen of Wilderness hath placed,
 By lake and cataract, her lonely throne;
 Sublime but sad delight thy soul hath known,
 Gazing on pathless glen and mountain high,
 Listing where from the cliffs the torrents thrown
 Mingle their echoes with the eagle's cry,
 And with the sounding lake, and with the moaning sky.

Yes! 'twas sublime, but sad. The loneliness
 Loaded thy heart, the desert tired thine eye;
 And strange and awful fears began to press
 Thy bosom with a stern solemnity.
 Then hast thou wish'd some woodman's cottage nigh,

Something that show'd of life, though low and mean;
Glad sight, its curling wreath of smoke to spy,
Glad sound, its cock's blithe carol would have been,
Or children whooping wild beneath the willows green.

The first and the third canto open in a similar vein, by noting the departure of Autumn or recalling the dread silence, dreadful by contrast, just after the reverberations of thunder have died away.

In spite of these traits we are generally contented to say that Sir Walter Scott's poetry lacks touches of nature description and that he is fit for boys only. It is true that he is more apt to be enjoyed by boys than by grown-up men who seek deeper spiritual sustenance in poetry than boys crave, but at the same time let us recognise also that even when we have attained maturity we always carry with us something of the boy within us, and it is this element which is responsible for much of our enthusiasm for the things that seem spicy in later life. When we follow contemporary fashion and think we have seen much better stuff in our own days, let us remember that Goethe at least had thought differently. "A great mind unequalled anywhere, who naturally produces the most extraordinary effects upon the world of readers"—this was his opinion of the Scottish poet, an opinion which Croce repeats, and Goethe goes on to compare him with Shakespeare in fertility of invention, infinite variety of original characters, historical scenes, situations, and adventures, universal sympathy and moral purity. We may not now lightly dismiss this enthusiastic appreciation by a poet who has received international homage to-day as much for his rich poetic gifts as for his rare critical insight which had triumphed over barriers of space and time. Much of this tribute goes to Scott the novelist, no doubt, but even there the poet in the novelist gets the homage. We in our day are more alive to our immediate surroundings and fight shy of idealism and medievalism, any *-ism* which may carry us far from this madding crowd's strife which we do not dub as ignoble; that

is perhaps the reason why the great Italian critic, Croce, speaks of Scott as "writing for his contemporaries, not for eternity," speaks of him as "a writer who delighted our fathers and grandfathers and who, if only for this reason, does not deserve ill-treatment from their sons and grandsons." There is no doubt that in the writings of Scott there are chaff mixed with grain, as there must be in the writings of most other poets, and they would require the loving care of the sympathetic critic who would pick up the best for the readers of to-day. The centenary year should witness such works and John Haynes Holmes has already led the way by his opportune publication, "*In the Heart of Scott's Poetry*."

What place did he fill in the history of the times in which he lived, how did he please our fathers and grandfathers, as Croce half admiringly and half playfully remarks? His was no doubt a great character, heroic in his resolution to stand by his obligation, to pay the almost crushing burden of debt which had fallen on him through the erring ways of irresponsible publishers, but something still remains to be said, apart from the ethical tone of his life, apart also from the generous ways of his living, for indeed he lived like a medieval baron in his castle offering free bounty and hospitality to those who cared to partake of it, traits which need not be considered in any discussion of his poetry except in so far as they throw light on it; he did great service to his contemporary poetry. It was he who made the Romantic movement in English Literature a popular and accepted fact, a change of opinion as radical as any evolution of far-reaching nature, and where his predecessors in the line, devoid of the gift of creation, tried and stumbled, he created anew lords and ladies gay and the minstrels of doughty deeds whom they liked so much to hear. It was he who created, as even the critic of to-day cannot overlook, the distinctive British type of Romanticism, a type thoroughly different from German metaphysics and French aesthetics. Nursed in the spirit of ballad poetry and Scottish antiquity, he won for that poetry a

respectable place in the history of literature, and made popular the works of discerning collectors who had toiled in the field during the sixties and seventies of the previous century. It was he also who stood out in his own days as the poet of Nationalism, and by recalling the great historical achievements of the Scottish nation tried to efface the impression of the smallness of his people in number and in some other ways in his own day. The battle of Bannockburn, a subject of national concern, has been celebrated by him in his *Lord of the Isles*. To him also belongs the credit of having drawn attention to poets of a past age who are likely to suffer from neglect in an age of changed fashions, and his labours in bringing out critical biographies of these poets should not be forgotten when we seek to estimate his position among his contemporary men of letters and his contribution to them. Above all, it was his generosity as well as his critical ability that made him exclaim on Byron's appearance as a poet, which had made him leave off his verse tales, though not altogether his writing of poetry, "Byron beat me."

How has the poet affected us here in the East? There seems to be an opinion abroad that because the East is mystic in its predilections, because the East is peculiarly the home of religions, therefore it cannot honestly and thoroughly love what is not mystic, what is not religious in the poetry of the West. Nothing is more preposterous; we have always been more catholic in our outlook on life and literature, and the influence of Scott was strong in the English-educated writers of our country in the last century. Thus was Rangalal, one of the prominent Bengali poets who wrote some very popular poetry 75 years ago, inspired by Scott and attempted to draw upon the antiquities of Rajasthan much in the same way as Scott had drawn upon Scotland; Tod's work had supplied the materials but the literary method had been discovered by the Scottish poet, and Rangalal was not slow in hinting at the source of his inspiration. Apart from him, two other typical instances may be mentioned here. One is the translation of his *Lay of the Last Minstrel* done by

Rakhaldas Sen and published in 1875. The translator hailed from Gauribha, and did his work with care and precision, adding notes and looking up references in the manner of Scott himself. It began as a literal version but was modified later on and tried to remain true to the spirit of the original even at the sacrifice of the letter, but for all that, it remained a line-for-line translation. A few specimens may be quoted here to show how diligently Sen had worked at Scott.

The way was long, the wind was
cold,
The Minstrel was infirm and old;
His wither'd cheek, and tresses
gray,
Seem'd to have known a better day;
The harp, his sole remaining joy,
Was carried by an orphan boy.
The last of all the bards was he,
Who sung of Border chivalry; etc.

If thou would'st view fair Melrose
aright,
Go visit it by the pale moon light;
For the gay beams of lightsome day
Gild, but to flout, the ruins grey.
When the broken arches are black in
night,
And each shafted oriel glimmers
white : etc.

Breathes there the man, with
soul so dead,
Who never to himself hath said,
This is my own, my native land ?
Whose heart hath ne'er within him
burn'd
As home his footsteps he hath turn'd,
From wandering on a foreign strand ?

সুদীর্ঘ সে পথ, বাতাস শীতল,
প্রাচীন দুর্বল গায়ক তায় ;
লোল গুণদেশ কুন্তল ধবল,
ছিল ভাগ্যবল প্রকাশ পায় ।
একমাত্র বীণা তাঁহার সম্বল,
রয়েছে অনাথ শিশুর করে,
একমাত্র তিনি গায়ক কেবল
জীবিত আছেন গীতের তরে etc.

দেখিতে যতপি চাও মেলরোজ কেমন,
যাও, দেখ গিয়া এরে কৌমুদী উৎসবে,
কেন না প্রথর রশ্মি সূর্যের কিরণ,
দেপায় ইহার যত দোষ গুণ সবে,
কাল হয়ে শোভে যত খিলান যখন,
সুস্তুত দৃষ্ট হয় কিবা বাতায়ন ।

আছে কি মানব কেহ হেন মৃঢ়মতি,
আপনারে নিজে যেই বলেনি কখন,
এই দেশ, এই মোর দেশ, হৃদয়মতি,
অন্তরে হৃদয় যার জ্বলেনি কখন,
গৃহমুখে পদ যবে করে সঞ্চালন,
দূরস্থিত বহুদেশ করিয়া ভ্রমণ ?

I should like to point out that there is another typical case of curious resemblance between a Bengali poet and Scott ; let us

compare the portraits of Shailaja drawn by Nabinchandra in the Raibatak and Clare in Marmion. They had been lovers of heroes but were doomed to disappointment, so they had disguised themselves by putting on men's attire, and as pages had done important service to their liege lords. In the Raibatak, Shaila's service had been brilliantly put forward in Canto X where she saved Arjun's life from a surprise attack and the disguise is cast off only in Canto XIX ; in the unique creation of Shailaja the Bengali poet has considerably improved upon his original by making the heroic girl translate her affections to a higher plane. The tragic picture of Clare handing over water to Marmion for a sorely needed drink when mortally wounded gives place to a more beautiful and ideal portrait where love is platonic; and more than that, divine ; beginning as a personal love, it transcends gradually till at last it merges in the infinite and, in the process, what a transformation of character has taken place ! In the 19th canto of the Raibatak we come across the lines :

তুমি পিতা, তুমি ভ্রাতা, তুমি প্রাণেশ্বর,
তুমি শৈলজার এক, অনন্ত, জীবন—

You are the father, the brother, the lord of life,
Of Shailaja the one, infinite, God—

Here all is surrender, merging of self completely in God, holding back nothing ; only the individual and God, nothing steps between, no racial ties or national missions cloud this simple relation ; but the emotional liberation of her heart makes Shailaja a pioneer in bringing together the Aryans and the non-Aryans under the fold of Divine Love, for which she pleaded, when she was dying, with an impassioned appeal :

আর্যদের আছে জ্ঞান, আছে শাস্ত্র আর্যদের,
অনন্ত-শাস্ত্র-শিক্ষক আছে ঋষিগণ ;
পতিত অনার্যদের কিছু নাই, কেহ নাই,
দিও তাহাদের মূর্তি—পতিত পাবন !

(The *Prabhās*, Canto XIII.)

The Aryans have knowledge, they have the Shastras ;
 They have the Rishis to teach them wisdom infinite,
 But the fallen Non-Aryans have nothing, have none,
 Give them your image—God of those who have fallen !

This was made possible through the passage of a personal love into a love of the infinite God in varied aspects. This later *Sadhana* she thus described to Subhadra :

সেই পতি ভাব দেবি ! হইল বিলীন
 কি অনন্ত শান্তিপূর্ণ প্রীতি-পারাবারে,
 সিন্ধুযুধী গঙ্গামত ! এই চরাচর,
 হইল অর্জুনময়, হইল তনয় ।
 কভু পার্থ পতি, আমি প্রেমে আত্মহারা,
 কভু পার্থ পিতা, আমি ভক্তিতে অধীরা ।
 কভু পার্থ ভ্রাতা, আমি মেহে নিমজ্জিতা,
 কভু পুত্র পার্থ, আমি বাৎসল্যে পূরিতা ।
 কভু পার্থ সখা, আমি সখী বিনোদিনী,
 কভু পার্থ প্রভু, আমি দাসী আজ্ঞাবধীনী !
 কভু আমি পার্থ, পার্থ শৈলজা আমার ।
 অভিন্ন হৃদয় কভু—নদী পারাবার !

(The Kurukshetra, Canto XIII.) —

These are some of the instances in which Scott has left his mark in Bengali literature. If we cared to note his influence in other Indian literatures who knows what results we might get. But that is one way in which we may celebrate Scott's centenary. If the years have given us real wisdom, our appreciation should be tempered by our judgment, so that our preferences may last longer, we dare not say for all times to come, because we mortals are short-sighted enough. But in spite of what the critics say and what the critics have done, the study of Scott still offers avenues unexplored till now, avenues, through which we may walk with hopes of profit. In much of our thoughts Scott's poetry is inseparable from his fiction, his criticism, his historical work and journalistic efforts. For life

is one whole and the different compartments into which we may divide it for our convenience are strangely interconnected. Let us accept the following verses then as a measure of Scott's achievement in poetry :

He hath woven the wonderful threads of Life
From cradle to bier in a cloth of gold ;
He hath crossed us the spears of Border strife,
And the hands of the Highland loves of old.
And every wood is a jewel to hold
While a nerve shall thrill, or a sword shall thrust,
Till the last of the fairy tales be told
And the mouldering Dryburgh stones be dust.¹

(Will Ogilvie.)

PRIYARANJAN SEN

¹ Read at a meeting of the Poetry Society, Calcutta Centre.

FRIARS CRAG, DERWENTWATER

Did God ordain thee as a quiet seat
'Neath star-flung temples of eternal space,
Did God spread yielding waters round thy feet,
For town-bred souls made. He a trysting place ?

The heather ripening into purple blaze.
Soft-coloured trees, the flash of glittered streams,
The mountains of ten thousand changing greys
From town-cramped spirits wrest their haunting
dreams.

The stillness, lap of water, Zephyr soft,
The music of the children far away,
The birds' love-twitters as they wing aloft
In darkened lives rekindle flaming day.

I think that when at night alone you wait
When care-worn souls have left your fountain-head,
That God comes down and opens heaven's gate
And angels come and rest in mortals' stead.

May be your spirit wearied with the cares
Of others when you've comforted and blessed,
Is strengthened by the holy angels' prayers,
And in God's bosom finds a wondrous rest.

Stranger, who find this heavenly fragment here,
Drink of the Peace of God, and understand :
Be still for world-worn angels' solace near,
And God Himself dwells on this lovely strand.

J. RALPH MILLER

A STUDY OF THE MANASA-CULT AND ITS LITERARY EXPRESSION¹

Fichte's definition of poetry, which has almost been antiquated in these days of Mysticism, Symbolism, Realism and so on—to name only a few of the modern 'isms' which have been struggling to dominate the literary ideals since the inception of the Romantic Movement in European Literature—seems to have a very close application to ancient Indian poetry in general and Bengali poetry in particular. That poetry is ultimately 'an expression of a Religious Idea' would be the nearest approach to a correct estimation of the trend of the ancient poetical literature of Bengal. The religious movement of the Bengali Vaiṣṇavas, which was primarily based upon the spiritualisation of human sentiments and which emphasised upon the culture of the finer emotions, gave rise to a vast and beautiful literature in Bengali as well as in Sanskrit. The lyrical branch of the Vaiṣṇava literature, better known as the *padāvalīs*, which, by virtue of their superb melody, magnificent wealth of expressions and splendid richness and variety of ideas struck a new note in Indian lyric poetry, would be best interpreted as the representation of a particular kind of religious idealism which grew on the soil of Bengal and which was Bengal's special contribution to the religious world.

There have been various other literary channels through which the religious soul of Bengal sought to express itself. We propose to dwell upon a popular branch of old Bengali literature which, judged by the standard of poetic truth and beauty, would scarcely be found to have scaled the heights of the splendid lyrical literature of the Vaiṣṇavas, and which was nevertheless permeated by the ideas and beliefs that represented the contemporaneous religious life of the country. As religion, in its

¹ An adaptation from an article by the author, published in the *Chittagong College Magazine* (Feb., 1931).

universal acceptation or in its sectarian aspects, embodied in the various popular cults, has always been the mainspring of activities in our country, the age that saw the revival of Puranic Hinduism in Bengal, also witnessed the growth and development of a large mass of beautiful poetical compositions of the epical or narrative kind, based upon semi-historical or mythological stories, celebrating the triumph of faith over scepticism in religious life. This branch of old Bengali literature consists of the numerous *Maṅgal*-poems or panegyrics, written in honour of deities and divinities that claimed the adoration of our ancient forefathers. These panegyric-poems include (1) the *Dharma Maṅgals*, bearing the stamp of Hinduised Buddhism, (2) the *Candī Maṅgal*, *Kālikā Maṅgal* and *Ānnadā Maṅgal* poems, celebrating the glory and triumph of the Goddess of the Mother-cult, (3) the *Manasā Maṅgal* poems written to describe the glory and exploits of the deity presiding over the serpentine world and (4) the *Sivāyana* poems, written in glorification of the great Puranic God Śiva. There have been, besides, other minor poems, eulogising lesser deities, mythological heroes or historical persons deified.

So far as the *Manasā Maṅgal* poems are concerned, the point that strikes us first is the importance and antiquity of the cult of Manasā-worship and the beautiful legend that centred round this deity and her protracted quarrel with the heroic merchant of *Champaknagar*; and although it would be a digression for purposes of literary history, we cannot help considering very briefly certain points in connection with the place of Manasā-cult in ancient Indian culture.

Manasā, like many of the deities that are worshipped here even to this day, had perhaps no place in the Aryan pantheon, by which we mean the Vedic pantheon. Many strange gods and goddesses, foreign to the Aryan conceptions of divinity and primarily owned by the aboriginal races that had been inhabiting the soil before the immigration of the Vedic Aryans into the land, slowly and gradually gained admittance into the later

Hindu pantheon, which represented the fusion of many complex and heterogeneous religious beliefs. The worship of Manasā represents no doubt an elegant and modified form of Serpent-worship, a practice which would *prima-facie* suggest itself to be of non-Aryan origin. Discussing the origin of Serpent-worship, Fergusson, while pointing out that the practice prevailed not only in India but in Judæ, Greece, Scandinavia, Sweden and many other countries of the old world, suggests that originally it "came from the mud of the Lower Euphrates, among a people of Turanian origin, and spread thence, as from centre, to every country or land of the old world in which a Turian people had settled." The apparent reasonableness of Fergusson's hypothesis lies in the fact that with aboriginal races, religious feelings spring from a desire to propitiate by worship unknown powers which they dread and that the essence of serpent-worship appears to be diametrically opposed to the spirit of the Veda or of the Bible, which pervades, to a greater or less extent, all forms of religious beliefs of the Aryan or Semitic races. It would be the task of the world-historian to support or refute Fergusson's hypothesis. While confessing our inability to dig back to the roots and to indicate the locality of the original cradle-land of this strange form of worship, we cannot admit, on the authority of the scholar named above, the full truth of the statement that "we look in vain, in the Vedas, for traces of serpent-worship." We cannot, we are afraid, altogether exonerate our Aryan forefathers from an early association with this strange worship, from whatever source and under whatever influence they might have imbibed the same.

Turning to the internal evidences of a very early existence of an almost worshipful attitude towards the venomous reptiles, we find that although no trace of regular serpent-worship is to be found in the R̥k Samhitā, frequent mentions have been made of serpents amongst the dreaded agencies of mischief, requiring to be pacified. Vedic scholars have pointed attention to the various appellations under which the noxious beings of this order have

been mentioned—‘Ahi,’ ‘Sarpa’ of the earth. ‘Ahibadhnyu’ of the ‘atmospheric ocean’ and so on. (Rv. i. 32; 5, 8 and 13; ii. 31, 6; iii. 33, 6 and 7; V. 41, 16; VI. 49, 14, and so on.) The deity of the 189th hymn of Book X of the R̥k Samhitā is *Sārpa-rajñī*, a term which has, however, been interpreted as ‘the earth.’ The later *Samhitās*, such as the *Yajus* and the *Atharvan*, reveal a more clearly pronounced state of worshipful attitude towards serpents as semi-divine beings. The *Atharva-Samhitā* is full of references to snakes and contains prayers addressed to them (i. 27; ii. 24; iii. 26, 27; iv. 3, 2, and so on). Coming down from the *Samhitā* to the *Brāhmaṇa* period, we find *Sarpa-Vidyā* and *Sarpa-Veda* mentioned in the ‘Satapatha’ and ‘Gopatha’ *Brāhmaṇas* respectively, along with other meritorious courses of study. A rather elaborate system of Serpent-worship seems to have developed itself in the *Sūtra*-period. The *Gr̥hyasūtra* enjoins upon the householder to propitiate serpents by means of worship and by the recital of appropriate ‘mantras.’ The ceremony of this worship, according to the *Gr̥hya-sūtra*,¹ is to be performed on the full-moon day of Śrāvaṇa, when the householder is to make various offerings to the serpent and to consign himself and his near and dear ones to the charge of the deity for protection.

In the post-Vedic mythology, we come across mythical ‘nāgas’ in human form, resembling serpents in their ferocious nature. The ‘nāgas’ in Buddhist mythology are demi-gods of wrathful nature residing in the region under mount *Meru*. Macdonell observes, in this connection, “The primitive conception that man does not differ essentially from the beast has left a few traces in the form of a belief in beings of were-wolf order. These are represented by the ‘Man-tigers’ and by the ‘nāgas,’ human beings in appearance but in reality serpents.”

¹ कलसात् शक्तूनान्दर्वीं पूरयित्वा प्रागुपनिष्कुस्य शुचौ देशेऽपोऽवनिनीय सप्तदेवजनेभ्यः स्वाहेति हुत्वा नमस्करोति ये सर्पाः पार्थिवा ये आन्तरिक्षा ये दिव्या ये दिग्गलेभ्य इमं बलिमाहार्यलेभ्य इमं बलिमुपाकरोमीति ।

(Āśvalāyana's Gr̥hyasūtra, ii. 1. 9.)

According to Weber, "Serpent-worship has unquestionably mythological symbolical relations, but on the other hand, it has also a realistic background." That Serpent-worship had a *realistic background in our country*, is strongly suspected from the internal evidences referred to above.

Of the two Sanskrit Epics, the Rāmāyaṇa has left no trace of the deification of serpents, barring the mention, in the *Sundarākāṇḍa*, of the huge female-serpent, Surasā, who obstructed the passage of the Monkey-chief Hanumān in the course of his aerial trip over the sea to Laṅkā. The Mahābhārata, however, is strewn over with references to actual serpents and 'nāga' peoples. It is a matter for careful consideration if the term 'nāga' of the Mahābhārata is a totem-name for the aboriginal tribes among whom the worship of serpents prevailed. The story of the Pāṇḍava hero, Arjuna, establishing matrimonial alliances with the nāgas, and of his illustrious grandson Parīkṣit being killed by Takṣaka, which fatality was retaliated by the son of the royal victim by means of the famous *Sarpa-satra*, may have some bearing upon the question. The identification of Baladeva with Ananta or Śeṣa seems to be not without its significance. The study of the great Epic will, if it engages the serious attention of the students of religious history, perhaps illumine many dark pages of Ancient Indian History.

It may be mentioned in passing that by the time when Kauṭilya's 'Arthaśāstra' was written, the nāgas came to be looked upon with worshipful reverence and that the 'Kathāsaritsāgar,' too reveals the same state of things, when prince Naravāhan Datta is described as offering homage to serpents.¹ Some of the Sanskrit Purāṇas contain clear reference to the presiding deity of snakes, although the name Manasā does not occur in all of them. The *Devībhāgavat* speaks of a damsel, Jaratkāru by name, who was given in marriage, by her brother Vāsuki,

¹ ततश्च युवराजो नागान् समाराध्य गृह्णत्यसीत् ।

—Kathāsaritsāgar, Taraṅga xxxiv.

to a sage bearing the same name with her, and of the young sage Āstika, born of the union, who, in deference to the wishes of her mother, interceded on behalf of Takṣaka at the fag-end of Janamejaya's sacrifice and saved her mother's clan from complete extermination (Devībhāgavat, iii, 12). This version of the Devībhāgavat seems to be an abridgement of an elaborate account of the same incident, described in the 'Astikaparvan' which forms a part of the Ādiparva of the Mahābhārata. The *Brahmavaivartapurāṇa*, which gives us the very name *Manasā* along with Jaratkāru and other names, twelve in all, relates a different account of the birth of the deity and the propagation of her worship among gods and mortals.¹ The goddess, in her maidenhood, it is stated in the same Purāṇa, propitiated Mahādeva by means of her penances and austerities and was initiated into the mysteries of the Vedas, having been duly instructed in the *Sāman* and the *Mahājñānam* (?). By means of her devotion she next propitiated Kṛṣṇa who vouchsafed to render her preliminary homage, which was followed by her worship being popularised among other gods, demi-gods and mortals.

This account of the *Brahmavaivartapurāṇa*, we are inclined to believe, contains the history of the final and complete Aryanisation of the deity. One fact must have struck every student of Ancient Indian History and Culture, namely that, this ancient land of ours has been, from very early times, the meeting ground of diverse conflicting creeds and that India of yore has never been lacking in the synthetic vision and the genius necessary for harmonising between heterogeneous elements of culture.

1 पुरा नागभयाक्रान्ता बभूवुर्मानवाभुवि ।
यान् यान् खादन्ति नागाश्च न ते जीवन्ति नारद ॥
सन्नाश्च सृजते भीतः कश्यपो ब्रह्मणार्थितः ।
वेदवीजानुसारिण चोपदेशेन ब्रह्मणः ॥
सन्नाधिष्ठातृ-देवीनां मनसां सृजते ततः ।
तपसा मनसा तेन बभूव मनसा च सा ॥

—Brahmavaivartapurāṇa, Prakṛtikhaṇḍa, Ch. xlvī.

The Purāṇas bear unmistakable evidence of this wonderful capacity for accommodation and reconstruction. Thus many social and religious institutions, even savouring of grossness and ostensibly belonging to a lower stratum of civilisation—which Vedic India or India of the age of the Upaniṣads, representing a high level of rationalistic and intuitional thinking could only half-heartedly and grudgingly accomodate—became subsequently absorbed in the Puranic civilisation, having finally been, as it were, interwoven into the very texture of Indian culture. It was thus possible for the highest forms of monotheistic doctrine to subsist side by side with the strangest modes of idolatrous worship. In most cases where Indo-Aryan religious cults came into conflict with exotic cults, the conflict ended in harmony and reconciliation.

This process of conflict and reconciliation has continued down to comparatively recent times. It seems to have been reflected even in the legends that form the subject-matter of the Bengali *Maṅgal* poems, some of which, no doubt, have got a historical background. The theme of the Bengali 'Manasā-Maṅgal' poems, to our mind, points to a stage of reconciliation arrived at between the Śaiva and Manasā cults and the final recognition of the serpent-deity, whose Aryanisation has been hinted at in a Sanskrit Purāṇa. With slight variations in minor details, the central theme of all the different versions of the Bengali Manasā Maṅgals is the same, namely as stated below.

Chāṇḍ, the wealthy and influential merchant of Champaknagar, was a staunch and devoted worshipper of Śiva. He was at first inimically disposed towards the Serpent-Deity and was strongly opposed to the spread of her worship, although his wife Sanakā cherished a high regard for the deity and worshipped her in secret. How could a stalwart upholder of the Śaiva faith stoop to rendering homage to a deity, who presided over the ugly and venomous reptiles? On coming to know of his wife's devotion, the exasperated merchant abused the deity grossly and even maltreated her votary. The infuriated goddess took up the

challenge and the first visitation of her wrath was the destruction of Chānd's beautiful orchard, Guābāri, which however, was promptly restored by means of the esoteric power of *Mahājñān*, possessed by the merchant. The next step of the deity was to deprive her defiant antagonist of his esoteric power and then to kill his six sons, one by one. The terrible retaliation of the wrathful goddess could neither intimidate her brave adversary nor inspire any regard in him. Chānd next decided upon undertaking a sea-voyage to restore the calm of his mind, and loading his fourteen vessels, headed by the *Madhukar*, with various commodities, set out on his voyage on an auspicious day. But here again the revengeful deity would not let him alone. All his fourteen vessels were wrecked and the merchant somehow survived this misadventure. After having passed through numerous vicissitudes, brought about by the manipulations of the wrathful goddess, the brave and undaunted hero returned home.

In course of time, another beautiful son was born to him, but as ill luck would have it, the child was declared by astrologers to be doomed to die by snake-bite on the very night of his wedding. Now Lakhindar—for that was the name given to the handsome child—came of age and was to marry Behulā, the beautiful and accomplished daughter of Sāha, another merchant of high social status. All necessary precautions were taken on the eve of the nuptials to avert the fatal prediction coming true, and a steel-house was created on mount Sāntāli, where the newly married couple were to spend the *bāsara* night. But all precautions proved futile against the manœuvres of the Goddess and Lakhai succumbed to the fatal dart of 'Kālanāginī.' His fair bride did not, however, wipe out the vermilion marks from her forehead and did not allow the dead body of her husband to be taken away. She took possession of the body, and having placed it on a raft of plantain-stems and seated herself by the side of her husband's corpse, floated the raft on the stream of 'Gāngoor,' in the teeth of heavy opposition from her old and

new relations and in the midst of their loud bewailings. The raft drifted along the current, carrying the putrid body, zealously guarded by the devoted wife with a resignation that was more than human and a love that was almost divine. The purity of her vow and the strength of her devotion were put to the severest ordeals in the course of her journey to an unknown destination. She resisted many evils and scared away the agencies, that vainly tried to lure her back to a life of pleasures. Faith triumphed in the long run. The deity relented. The gates of heaven opened out to fair and faithful Behulā. The gods of heaven, including the deity responsible for her ill luck, were mightily pleased. She entertained them by a masterly display of her superior skill in the art of dancing. Her devotion was rewarded by the return of her husband to life. The six other sons of her father-in-law, who had predeceased Lakhindar, were also restored to life. All the seven brothers, together with their saviour, returned to the arms of the bereaved parents. It was too much for the father to resist her divine antagonist any longer. Her superiority was acknowledged in the long run and she was rendered homage by the redoubtable merchant-prince of Champaknagar.

A beautiful and interesting literature sprang up in our country to celebrate the glory of Manasā and the triumph of Behulā's devotion. Nearly three score authors have been discovered up to now who wrote upon the same theme; many more have got to be discovered yet. The earliest known Bengali writer on this cult was one Hari Datta, who is mentioned in the famous 'Padmāpurāṇa' by Vijay Gupta rather slightly as a blind poet ('প্রথমে রচিল গীত কাণা হরিদত্ত') and broken fragments of whose writings are found incorporated with some of the early 'Manasā-Maṅgal' poems. Hari Datta has been supposed by the pioneer historian of old Bengali literature, Dr. Dinesh Chandra Sen, to have lived and composed his poem at least a century or two before Vijay Gupta; for the latter declares the work of his predecessor almost lost ('হরিদত্তের যে গীত নুপু হৈল কালে'). The most important and popular amongst the

writers of *Manasā Maṅgal* was Vijay Gupta of the village Fulla-Srī in the district of Backergunje, which was a *Panḍita-nagar* or a seat of learning and culture in the poet's time. Vijay Gupta makes a respectful mention of Emperor Hushen Shaha (1494-1525) and gives us a date, which is probably the date of the composition of his work.

‘স্বাত্ম শশী বেদ শশা পরিমিত শক ।

সনাতন হুসেন শাহ নৃপতি-তিলক ॥’

The date referred to here is Śaka 1416 or 1494 A.D. Vijay Gupta's *Padmāpurāṇa* is a voluminous work, comprising seventy-six chapters, in which, besides giving a preliminary account of the birth of the deity, he has worked out the beautiful legend, given above, in masterly details. In the delineation of the pathos, underlying the story, Vijay Gupta has far excelled his contemporaries and successors. Another important poet of East Bengal, Nārāyaṇ Deva by name, wrote upon the same theme. He was an inhabitant of Borā-grām in the district of Mymensingh and has been supposed to be a contemporary of Vijay Gupta. The poet's ancestor lived in Magadha and it is significant to note that the queen of Chānd — has once been referred to, in this work, as the daughter of a King of Behar (‘বেহারিয়া রাজার কন্যা’).

Ṣaṣṭhīvar and Gaṅgādās, father and son, who were inhabitants of Jhinardi in the district of Dacca, also jointly composed a ‘*Manasā Maṅgal*,’ along with many other works including Bengali adaptations of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*. They composed their poem, it has been supposed, in the earlier half of the sixteenth century. Another illustrious writer of a *Manasā Maṅgal* poem was the Brāhmaṇ-poet Vamśīdās of the village Pātoārī in the Kishoregunje Subdivision of Mymensingh. This Brahmin scholar, it is believed, composed his work in collaboration with his scholarly daughter, Chandrāvātī, a poetess of no mean order, whose recently discovered *Rāmāyaṇa* is an

excellent addition to the Bengali versions of Vālmīki's great Epic. Two beautiful ballads have of late been discovered and edited by Dr. Dinesh Chandra Sen, under the auspices of the Calcutta University, treating respectively of (1) the conversion of a bandit-chief, Kenārām by name, under the spell of the musical performance of the 'Manasā Maṅgal,' given by the poet-musician Vamśidās and his party and of (2) the pathetic story of Chandrāvati's disappointment in her early love and her acceptance of a vow of lifelong celibacy. Vamśidās wrote his work in Saka 1497 corresponding to the year 1575 A.D.

‘জলধির মাঝেত ভুবন মাঝে দ্বার ।

শাকে রচে দ্বিজ বংশী পুরাণ পদ্মার ॥’

The next important writer of a 'Manasā Maṅgal' was one Ketakādās Kṣemānanda, of whom, it has been held, Kṣemānandā was the name, Ketakādās being the title meaning 'a servant of Ketakā or Manasā.' He was a poet of West Bengal who is supposed to have composed his work at some date later than 1640, the poet having referred to Barākhān as the ruler of Selimabad in the district of Burdwan. The space at our disposal will not allow us to notice all the numerous works known as the 'Manasā Maṅgal' poems in Bengali, large collections of which have been made by the manuscript-departments of the Universities of Calcutta and Dacca. This invaluable treasure of Bengali manuscripts remains yet to be utilised by the lovers of the ancient literature of Bengal and these works, when properly studied, will throw much light on the social and religious history of ancient Bengal.

A few more words about the story of the Bengali 'Manasā Maṅgals' and we have finished. The story, in its nucleus, seems to be much older than its exquisite literary presentations by the poets of mediæval Bengal, although unlike the 'Kālaketu'-story or the 'Dhanapati'-episode of a parallel branch of old Bengali literature, it has nowhere been referred to in any of the Sanskrit Purāṇas. ✓The legend undoubtedly points to a very

early age when Bengal had not lost its traditions of maritime activities and when the Bengali merchants enjoyed a high social status. Much controversy has been raised over the question of the residence of the hero of the tale and the centres of action of other heroes and heroines of the story. The 'Gauder Itihās' declares Chandradhara or Chānd Sadāgar to be a historical person, who was a contemporary of king Vikramkeśarī and a scion of the famous clan of merchants, known as the 'Gandhabaniks,' who shifted their residence from Kausāmbi to Bengal before the establishment of the rule of the Sena dynasty. The capital of this merchant was Champāi¹ or Champāni, which, even from the time of Hiuen Tsang's travels (629-645 A.D.) formed one of the sub-divisions of Gauḍa (the other component parts of the kingdom, according to the Chinese traveller, were Vaṅga, Hiranyaparvat, Kajuthira, Puṇḍravardhana, Samatāṭa, Karṇa Subarṇa and Tāmralipta).

Attempts have also been made to locate the residence of Chānd in many different places of modern Bengal and Assam, and even in several localities in the district of Patna and Bhagalpur in Behar. We have got our modern 'Champaknagara' in each of the districts of Burdwan, Maldah and Tipperah. Other places are also associated with one or other of the heroes and heroines of the tale. The people of these places would have us believe that the scenes of

¹ Champā was the capital of the ancient kingdom of Aṅga, which, according to one account, was named after Champā, the great grandson of Lompāda. The Jaina works, however, declare king Konika to be the founder of this city. The Buddhist Jatakas mention the merchants of Champa, setting out on their sea-voyage with various articles of merchandise by the route of the Ganges. The Buddha is said to have visited in course of his travels a place named Bhodio in the vicinity of Champā. A resting house is supposed to have been built in the city of Champā in ancient times for giving shelter to pilgrims, a reference to which has been made in the Kādambarī and the Daśakumāracaritam. Vāsupūjya, the twelfth 'Tirthaṅkara' is said to have been born in Champā. Asoka's mother, Subhadrāṅgi, was the daughter of a Brāhmaṇ of Champā. The author of the Laṅkāvatārasutta, a Buddhist scholar named Jina, was held to be an inhabitant of this city. The famous work of lexicon, 'Trikaṇḍaśeṣa,' mentions 'Puṣpa-bātī' to be another name of the city.

'Manasā Maṅgal' were laid in their respective localities. We leave it to abler scholars to seriously examine the validity of these claims, which are all based upon the assumption of the historical character of the heroes and heroines. Shall we be taken to task if we are inclined to profit by regarding the story otherwise than from a purely historical and realistic standpoint and by interpreting the whole episode as a beautiful piece of fiction symbolising an important event of religious history marked by the happy termination of an antagonism between the *Saiva* and the *Manasā* cults? Certainly the picture reflects no small credit upon Bengal's ancient idealism of love as embodied in the conception of Behulā, who represents, in life as in literature, the very flower of Bengali womanhood?

JANARDAN CHAKRABARTI

TO MY FRIEND

Why do you blush and fling back thy blond curls,
For whom interrogative shake of mouth ?
Don't twist lock of hair between your fingers ?
Why for whom tinkling of rosy ankle
With tiny golden bells singing each step ?
Whose subtle perfume comes into my room
From outside passage with the gentle breeze ?
For whom you exhaust all this art ?—For Me ?
In setting the flowers in thy black hair ?
Sweet friend ! you set me dreaming after you.
Thou feast of my eyes and shrine of my heart
Men of this world smile and whisper at me
Let them laugh and mock ; only desire mine
Is to please you ; my dearest friend, my love.

V. H. PANDIT

THE CONCEPT OF SVADHARMA IN THE GĪTĀ¹

Several years ago (August, 1927), I pointed out in the pages of the *Calcutta Review* some of the striking similarities that exist between the philosophical ideas of Plato and those contained in the *Bhagavadgītā*. In this short paper, I propose to discuss the concept of स्वधर्म as found in the Gītā and see if that has any parallel in Plato. I must not be understood, however, as implying that either of them borrowed from the other. Borrowing was perhaps not impossible, but we have not enough historical materials to warrant any definite conclusion.

The word स्वधर्म occurs in the Gītā in the following passages :—

(i) स्वधर्ममपि चावेक्ष्य न विकम्पितुमर्हसि ।

ii. 31.

(ii) ततः स्वधर्मं कीर्त्तिं च हित्वा पापमवाप्स्यसि ।

ii. 33.

(iii) श्रेयान् स्वधर्मो विगुणः परधर्मात् स्वनुष्ठितात् ।

स्वधर्मा निधनं श्रेयः परधर्मो भयावहः ॥

iii. 35.

(iv) xviii. 47 which repeats iii. 35.

It is needless to point out that *Svadharmā* in the Gītā, and, for the matter of that, in the whole of Sanskrit literature, does *not* mean one's own religion. धर्म means duties—and स्वधर्म obviously means *one's* duties. And so, analysing the idea of *Svadharmā*, we shall discover the conception of duty which the Gītā advocated.

To understand this, it is necessary to bear in mind some of the leading ideas which form the background of the philosophy of the Gītā.

¹ A paper contributed to the Oriental Conference held at Patna, November, 1930.

(1) In the first place, the Gītā is permeated with the Sāṅkhya conception of *Prakṛti* and *Guṇa*. We need not dilate upon these well-known ideas. But it is necessary to point out that according to these notions, ultimately, activity (कर्तृत्व) did not belong to पुरुष as such, but to पुरुष as determined by the *guṇas*. And that the difference in the character, aptitude, and potentialities of different individuals, was due to the preponderance of the different *guṇas*.

(2) In the second place, the Gītā believed in the वर्णाश्रम, i.e., in the division of society into the well-known castes and also the division of the life of at least the higher castes, into the four well-known āśramas or stages. Whether the Gītā believed in hereditary caste or not, is a question which may be left to be disputed by scholars. But it is beyond dispute that it believed in the validity of castes. Śloka iv. 13, may be, as it has been, interpreted to mean that an individual should not necessarily belong to the caste in which he is born, but should be classed according to his *Guṇa* and *Karma*, i.e., according to his natural tendencies and characteristics. If this meaning is accepted, caste will not be hereditary. But, nevertheless, even according to this śloka and also according to others of similar import, castes as a fact are recognised, in whatever way they may be formed.

What, then, was the duty of an individual? Śloka ii. 31 gives the key to the answer :

“धर्म्याद्धि युद्धात् श्रेयोऽन्यत् क्षत्रियस्य न विद्यते ।”

A righteous war is the highest duty of a Kṣatriya. Arjuna is advised to remember his own *svadharma* and fight ; because, for a Kṣatriya to avoid a legitimate battle is a great dereliction of duty (ii. 33-37). And we are further reminded (xviii. 41-45, etc.), that the different castes have different duties prescribed for them.

Although the Gītā sometimes expresses strong feeling against the Vedas and Vedic rituals (e.g., in ii. 42-46), yet,

after the modification of *Karma* cult as suggested in its own doctrine of निष्काम कर्म, the Gītā fully acquiesced in the practice of Vedic rites. Nay, it went further; it even considered them necessary duties for those for whom they were prescribed; *e.g.*, in iii. 916. It did not repudiate faith in the Śāstras (xvi. 23-24) and it was fully aware of the disabilities under which women and the lower castes laboured and even tacitly concurred in them (ix. 32, etc.).

Frankly speaking, therefore, duty according to the Gītā, was caste-duty, as prescribed by the canonical books. Castes need not have been hereditary. But whether hereditary or not, the Gītā expected certain natural (स्वभावज) differences among the castes, *e.g.* xviii. 42, enumerates the *natural activities* of a Brahmin (ब्रह्मकर्म स्वभावजम्). And similarly, in xviii. 43-44, we are given a list of the *natural* tendencies of a Kṣatriya, Vaiśya and a Śūdra, and throughout Chapter XVI, we have a discussion about some of the important differences between a divine (दैवी) and demoniac (आसुरी) nature. And, in Chap. XIV, we have an analysis of the three Guṇas.

All these taken together will lead us to the conclusion that the Gītā fully emphasised the *natural* differences between man and man and, therefore, believed in the classification of men involved in castes. Hereditary castes may be an evil and admirers of the Gītā may claim this credit for it that, even if it believed in caste, it did not emphasise hereditary caste. But, nevertheless, Arjuna was advised to fight *because* he was a Kṣatriya and it was a virtue for a Kṣatriya to be a soldier. And, further, when one is in difficulty as to what one should do, the Gītā would refer him to the Śāstras. (xvi. 23-24; *cf.* also xviii. 5).

That the Gītā believed in *Varṇa* and *Āśrama* cannot be disputed, nor need we dispute it. But what seems to us to be more important is its theory of Guṇas and classification of mankind according to *Guṇa* (*vide* iv. 13). If caste is hereditary, it may coincide with this *natural* division, but it may

not also. If, however, caste is not necessarily hereditary, it will definitely tend to agree with this natural division of mankind according to Guṇas. And taking the natural difference between man and man as the basis of classification, the Gītā, as we have just pointed out, conceives duty as action best suited to a man's station in life and to his natural aptitudes. The duties of a Brahmin, *i.e.* of a man in whom the quality of *sattva* preponderates, are attainment of tranquillity of mind, of knowledge, etc., etc. (xviii. 42). And so the duties of a Kṣatriya include bravery in war (xviii. 43) and so on. Duties are not the same for all. Each has his own *svadharma* or specific duties. And the ideal thing for a man is to do what by nature and by the circumstances of his life, he is best adapted to do. For the sake of social life, actions have to be performed; and it is each one's duty to do just those actions for which the preponderating quality in his mental and physical constitution suits him best.

The theory of *varṇa* and *āśrama* implies obviously a social theory. And this theory of social structure, it seems, was at the back of the conception of duty which we find in the Gītā. But we may well ask here: Had the Gītā any political ideals also? Perhaps not much, but we cannot say it had none altogether. In i. 37-41, and iii. 20-24, questions of social welfare are clearly discussed. And so far as the ruling classes are urged to maintain this ideal of society, to that extent, a political ideal also is suggested. In Indian thought, the concept of the State was but ill-developed and received very little attention. Society was regulated more by religious than by political notions. And it is no wonder, therefore, that we do not find in the Gītā the same mature ideas about the State as we find in Plato. But still if we remember that the ideal of social life developed in it was intended to be maintained by the governing class, we may credit the author of the Gītā with the idea of a State-machinery also, though undoubtedly this idea is but imperfectly developed in his book.

We claim that all these ideas of the Gītā have a remarkable parallel in Plato's *Republic*.

Plato starts with the palpable fact that "no two persons are born exactly alike, but each differs from each in natural endowment, one being suited for one occupation, and another for another" (370). He then proceeds to caution a shoemaker against attempting to become an agriculturist or a builder or a weaver and concludes that the higher occupations like those of a soldier or a governor requires very special natural endowments. And anyone who aspires to become a soldier or a governor may not be fitted to become so (374 *et seq.*).

Plato was so emphatic about these natural differences that we have no hesitation in thinking that he comes very near the caste-ideas of the Gītā. He was even inclined to think that according to the general law by which children resemble their parents, the offspring of the higher classes (rulers and soldiers) would oftener than not possess the qualities of these classes and be eligible for inclusion in them. To that extent, the social classes according to Plato would almost be hereditary castes. But as the law of heredity is not absolutely certain and always true, exceptions would be there and Plato was frankly prepared to admit them. But, with this reservation, the following passage will show how similar his ideas were to those of the Gītā :

"We shall tell our people, in mythical language : You are doubtless all brethren, as many as inhabit the city, but the God who created you mixed gold in the composition of such of you as are qualified to rule, which gives them the highest value ; while in the auxiliaries he made silver an ingredient, assigning iron and copper to the cultivators of the soil and other workmen. Therefore, inasmuch as you are all related to one another, although your children will generally resemble their parents, yet sometimes a golden parent will produce a silver child, and a silver parent a golden child, and so on, each producing any. The rulers therefore have received this in

charge first and above all from the gods, to observe nothing more closely, in their character of vigilant guardians, than the children that are born, to see which of these metals enters into the composition of their souls ; and if a child be born in their class with an alloy of copper or iron, they are to have no manner of pity upon it, but giving it the value that belongs to its nature, they are to thrust it away into the class of artisans or agriculturists ; and if again among these a child be born with any admixture of gold or silver, when they have assayed it, they are to raise it either to the class of guardians, or to that of auxiliaries ” (415).

As he himself points out (433), Plato frequently repeats the dictum that “every individual ought to have some one occupation in the State, which should be that to which his natural capacity was best adapted.” Is it not exactly like the idea of स्वधर्म in the Gītā ? And he goes on : “ We have often heard people say, that to mind one’s own business, and not be meddlesome, is justice ; and we have often said the same thing ourselves.” May we not compare with this the dictum of the Gītā ?—

“स्वधर्मे निधनं श्रेयः परधर्मो भयावहः ।” —iii. 35.

And further :

“ But when one whom nature has made an artisan, or a producer of any other kind, is so elated by wealth, or a large connexion, or bodily strength, or any similar advantages, as to intrude himself into the class of the warriors ; or when a warrior intrudes himself into the class of the senators and guardians, of which he is unworthy, and when these interchange their tools and their distinctions, or when one and the same person attempts to discharge all these duties at once, then, I imagine, you will agree with me, that such change and meddling among these will be ruinous to the state ” (434).

May we not compare with it the following dicta of the Gītā ?

- (i) चातुर्वर्ण्यं मया सृष्टं गुण-कर्म-विभागशः । iv. 13
 (ii) ब्राह्मण-क्षत्रियविशां शूद्राणां च परन्तप ।
 कर्माणि प्रविभक्तानि स्वभाव-प्रभवैः गुणैः ॥ and xviii. 41
 (iii) स्वभावनियतं कर्म कुर्वन्नाप्नोति किल्बिषम् । xviii. 47

Again, in his famous simile of the pilot and the ship (488), Plato emphasises the same truth that, in order that society may prosper, each individual and class in it must follow its nature-appointed duties and that if one whom nature intended to be a sailor aspired to become the pilot of the ship, the consequence to the ship, and also to the ship of the state, would be dreadful.

The similarity between Plato and the author of the Gītā did not stop here. There are passages in which Plato even seems to approve of the division of the individual life into Āsramas, specially for the study of Philosophy or the highest knowledge. Here is his plan of education for the would-be philosopher :—

“ In youth and boyhood they ought to be put through a course of training in philosophy, suited to their years ; and while their bodies are growing up to manhood, special attention should be paid to them, as a serviceable acquisition in the cause of philosophy. At the approach of that period, during which the mind begins to attain its maturity, the mental exercises ought to be rendered more severe. Finally, when their bodily powers begin to fail, and they are released from public duties and military service, from that time forward they ought to lead a dedicated life, and consecrate themselves to this one pursuit, if they are to live happily on earth, and after death to crown the life they have led with a corresponding destiny in another world ” (498).

Is not he speaking here in the same strain as the authors of the Dharmasūtras and, therefore, also of the Gītā ?

We find, therefore, that Plato thought almost on the same lines as the author of the Gītā. He, too, was imbued with caste-ideas, if we may be permitted to say so. We may perhaps even go further and say that, with proper safeguards, the idea of dividing society into *varnas* or castes is not so unphilosophical—and certainly not so barbarous—as modern critics of this institution would aver. The real danger of caste is its possible hereditary character and the principle of *untouchability* which seems to follow in its wake. Plato carefully avoided them and that probably was an improvement. But in any case, the main theory remains that that society is best in which each member and each class is, by some means or other, directed to the right kind of occupation—*i.e.*, the occupation for which he or it was intended by nature. And this is a remarkable coincidence between Plato and the Gītā. And however much we may dislike it, the idea of classification into castes is not without a grain of truth in it. Individual failure in life due to mis-choice of profession is a well-known and common phenomenon. That, however, may not disturb the life of society to any appreciable extent. But when whole classes of men mis-choose their vocation and meddle in work for which they are but ill-fitted, would not the consequence be disastrous ? And if democracy suffers from any ills, is it not due to the meddlesomeness of *all* classes in the administration of the State ?

To keep every man to his proper sphere is a difficult business ; and no machinery has yet been devised by which the proper sphere of every individual could be discovered without fear of criticism and without charge of unfairness and partiality. Plato suggested a scheme which has not been tested in the working and may not work as smoothly as he imagined. But whether we can discover the means of attaining or not, ideally speaking, would it not be an excellent thing if each of

us in society could find out without fail his true occupation in life—and no one missed his vocation—and all worked in a spirit of co-operation and harmony just as the limbs work in the body ? And if that were the underlying idea of वर्णश्रम, was it altogether unworthy of consideration ? The idea of वर्ण and श्रम is fast disappearing from the world ; and is already an ancient relic. But the fact that even Plato approved of it, shows that it was not altogether lacking a philosophical justification. And although castes may go, after all, each man's duty is to find out his *svadharma*—the work for which Nature intended him ; and, without meddling, in work for which he was not intended, to contribute his proper share to the life of the body politic, the whole, of which he is but a part.

U. C. BHATTACHARJEE

POETRY

A wreath of mental flowers
Breathing the scent of soul
And wove with passion's life
To soothe man's sordid strife ;
Or Beauty's bright gambol
In shapely vernal bowers
Of words of richest zest
To joy the human breast :
Such, Poetry ! thou art,
The grace of letters' art.

P. M. HARI

MUSIC AND NUMBERS¹

I propose to-day to give you a small discourse on the intellectual aspect of music and in doing so, I must confess I am an amateur and hence I am so diffident as to my competency to speak on the subject.

You may recollect that Sir C. V. Raman referred in his inaugural address of the Academy to the important rôle played by the amateur in regard to scientific developments and the lecturer last week on "wireless" referred to amateurs' work on short-wave transmission. I feel that I have something also to say as an amateur *violinist* and I should like to have a hearing.

Even in Indian Music, there are two distinct schools, namely, the Karnatic and the Hindusthani styles. I have not made a study of European music at all and I shall not be able to speak much about it. One might well say that music should only be sung or played on an instrument and enjoyed, and question whether there is any good in such discourses. My reply is that the technique and the critical appreciation of the aesthetic in music are matters intellectual, and it is therefore necessary that we must have discourses, analogous to literary criticism. I have made a casual study of South Indian music, which I tried to learn during my leisure hours, off and on, for some years, and I have also tried to follow the Hindusthani music very occasionally. I shall, at the end of the lecture, give you a practical demonstration of some South Indian songs and Ragas.

¹ Lecture delivered on the 17th January, 1933, before the Academy of Arts and Sciences, Calcutta, by Mr. C. Subrahmanya Ayyar, Member of the Board of Studies in Indian Music, Madras University.

In the history of music, it is only when persons with musical ears, but not gifted with sweet voices, turned their attention to produce music on a musical instrument, that the analysis of the notes forming the music had commenced, and in stringed instruments especially, the difficulty should have been extremely felt of imitating entirely the modulations of the human voice. In fact, to-day, the acme of perfection in instrumental melody is felt by an Indian, when he affirms that the instrument speaks like the human voice. And when this difficulty was realised the early scientific investigators must have had some recourse to the division of the strings and the place at which the fingers have had to damp them, to produce the various stages of the music as sung by the human voice. You know the music produced by the voice is continuous except when the sound ceases, and there is fairly no discontinuity, and to produce similar effects on an instrument should have meant immense pains in the commencement. Even in the most elementary text-books of the Indian music, the notation of music is to divide it into the octaves and 12 notes within which each octave (or *Sthayi*), with sufficient attention to periods or time (or *Tala*) relating to the particular note.

In Indian music, we hear the words *Shadja*, *Rishabha*, *Gandhara*, *Madhyama*, *Panchama*, *Dhaivata*, *Nishada*, abbreviated as "*SA, RI, GA, MA, PA, DHA, NI*". (The seven names used in music were given prior to the days of Panini, the Sanskrit Grammarian about 2,500 years ago.) If you recollect the sounding key-board in an ordinary harmonium, you will find that there are seven whites and five blacks in an octave, *i.e.*, from one *SA* to the higher *SA*. We name the whites, according to the Hindusthani notation, the *suddha swaras*, on the supposition the 1st white is the *adhara* of fundamental note *Sa* and they correspond to the *Diatonic scale of the European*. The other four blacks are the *Komal* (or flat) notes for *Ri*, *Ga*, *Dha* and *Ni*, while the black next to the *Suddha Ma* is *tivra* (sharp) *Ma*.

The *adhara sruti* or the fundamental note is not always the 1st white key, and it is changed according to the vocal capacity of the singer. The adult human voice generally takes the 2nd black as the fundamental note *Sa*, and the adult female voice the 5th white key as the fundamental *Sa*.

At this stage I should perhaps explain how I came to be interested in Numbers, as associated with music. Being a Mathematics Graduate I knew well enough of algebraical quantities and arithmetical numbers, but that helped me not very much in understanding music. In the year 1928, after about 10 years of violin practice, I began to suspect that the "Ragabhava," or the 'melody type,' to coin a word, did not merely depend on the *pada-prayoga*, i.e., use of syllables, of varying length, in point of time, of these twelve notes, and I came to the conclusion that even when the same notes, classified according to the 12 frets of the Veena, appeared in 2 Ragas, as the music books stated, the Ragabhava depended on a definite physical basis, namely the variation in frequencies, that is, a fall or rise of a very small interval in pitch, of these 12 notes brought about by different ways. I then set to investigate these variations by closer observation of my fingering of the violin, and later with the help of the sonometer. (The sonometer is nothing but a long string stretched between two straight-edged bridges, the tension of the string being capable of variation as desired, or you can put a wedge underneath, so as not to vary the tension, but read off the length of the vibrating portions of the string.)

If you recollect your College days of the Junior Arts Course, you would perhaps remember how the Mathematics Professor talked of the Harmonic Progression. He took certain fractions with a common numerator, but with their denominators in arithmetic progression. The series, he said, was in a harmonic progression. That is to say, 1, $1/2$, $1/3$, $1/4$, $1/5$, $1/6$, $1/7$, $1/8$, $1/9$, $1/10$, etc., formed a harmonic series, and he was not in a position to satisfy our curiosity as

to how these figures were associated with music or harmony. It is probable that students of higher classes in Physics might have been taught something about it, in their text-books on Sound. But one begins to understand their significance only when he knows and identifies the pitches of the notes, *Sa*, *Ri*, *Ga*, *Ma*, *Pa*, *Dha* and *Ni*, *suddha*, or flat, or sharp, as the case may be. In this article I shall use the word '*Suddha*' for the Diatonic scale of the European or Sankarabharana of the South India.

(It is of course understood that the tension remains constant as on the sonometer or you have to vary the distances to get the definite pitch).

I will show you, on the violin, this harmonic series.

Whole string of <i>Sa</i> vibrates.		Key note <i>Sa</i> .		Relative frequency is the inverse of the oscillating portion of the string.
These were known even to the an- cients	1/2 string of <i>Sa</i> damped	1/2 vibrates	Higher <i>Sa</i>	2
	1/3 „	2/3rds „	<i>Panchama</i> or the perfect fifth	3/2
	1/4 „	3/4ths „	<i>Ma</i> (<i>Suddha</i>) perfect fourth	4/3
	1/5 „	4/5ths „	<i>Ga</i> (<i>Suddha</i>) Harmonic Major third	5/4
	The higher harmonics at these places can be heard by just lightly touch- ing the above nodal points.			
	1/6 „	5/6ths vibrates	<i>Ga</i> (<i>Suddha</i>) Minor third (Harmonic) (the note we hear often in ' <i>Jhata</i> ' of <i>Sama Veda</i>)	6/5

I shall pass over 1/7 and 1/8 for the time being,

1 9	„	8/9ths vibrates <i>Suddha Ri</i> <i>Panchama</i> of lower <i>Panchama</i> or fifth of lower fifth 9/8
-----	---	--

Before I pass on to 1/10ths, I should refer to

Whole string of <i>Sa</i> vibrates.	Key note <i>Sa</i> .	Relative frequency is the inverse of the oscillating portion of the string.
2/5 string of <i>Sa</i> damped being 2nd note of <i>Suddha Ga</i>	3/5ths vibrates <i>Suddha Dha</i>	5/3
1/5 of <i>Pa</i> string damped	4/5ths of <i>Pa</i> string vibrates <i>Ni</i> $5/4 \times 3/2$	<i>Suddha</i> Harmonic 15/8
1/10 of <i>Sa</i> string damped	9/10ths vibrating	A position corresponding to <i>Suddha Dha</i> on 'Pa' string 10/9
1/16	16/15	<i>Komal Ri</i> 16/15
1/25	25/24	<i>Ati Ati Komal Ri</i> 25/24

To my knowledge the note with 1/8th of string damped or 7/8 vibrating is not used in our music, and about 1/7th I shall speak later.

The *Pa* (Fr. 3/2) string gives the following notes with frequencies.

Damped at —from head.	Name.	Relative frequency.
1/2	<i>Pa</i> Higher	3
2/5	<i>Suddha Ga</i> Higher	5/2
1/3	<i>Ri</i> (<i>Suddha</i>) Higher octave	9/4
1/4	<i>Sa</i> Higher	2
1/5	<i>Ni Suddha</i> (Harmonic)	15/8
6/6	<i>Komal Ni</i>	9/15 (a comma sharper than <i>Ati Komal Ni</i> Fr. 16/9)
1/9	<i>Dha</i>	27/16 (Corresponding position to Fr. 9/8 on <i>Sa</i> string)
1/10	<i>Dha Suddha</i>	5/3
1/16	<i>Komal Dha</i>	8/5
1/25	<i>Ati Ati Komal Dha</i>	25/16

a *Ma* (Fr. 4/3) string would give

1/2 damped	<i>Ma</i> Higher octave	8/3
2/5	<i>Ri</i>	20/9 (10/9 in the lower octave a comma flatter than <i>Suddha Ri</i> (9/8))
1/3	<i>Sa</i> Higher octave	2
1/4	<i>Ati Komal Ni</i>	16/9
1/5	<i>Suddha Dha</i>	5/3
1/6	<i>Komal Dha</i>	8/5
1/9	<i>Pa</i>	3/2
1/10	...	40/27 a comma (Fr. 81/80) flatter than <i>Pa</i>
1/16	<i>Tivra Tara Ma</i>	64/45
1/25	...	25/18 (70 cents above <i>Ma</i> 4/3)

a *Ga* (Fr. 5/4) string would give

Damped at —from head.	Name.	Relative frequency.
1/2	Higher <i>Suddha Ga</i>	5/2
2/5	Higher <i>Ati Ati Komal Ri</i>	25/12 (or 25/24 in lower octave)
1/3	<i>Suddha Ni</i> (Harmonic)	15/8
1/4	<i>Ati Ati Komal Dha</i>	25/16
1/5	<i>Suddha Dha</i> (Harmonic of <i>Sa</i>)	5/3
1/6	<i>Panchama</i>	3/2
1/9	<i>Tivra Ma</i>	45/32 (<i>Suddha Ri</i> of <i>Ga</i>)
1/10	...	25/18 (70 cents sharper than 4/3)
1/16	<i>Suddha Ma</i>	4/3
1/25	... ?	125/96 (70 cents sharper than 5/4)

The following facts may also be mentioned

If we drop a 6/5 (Harmonic Komal <i>Ga</i>) interval from <i>Sa</i> (higher), we reach 5/3,				<i>i.e.</i> , <i>Suddha Dha</i>
„	6/5	„	„	<i>Pa</i> we reach 5/4, <i>i.e.</i> , <i>Suddha Ga</i>
„	6/5	„	„	<i>Ma Suddha</i> , we reach 10/9 a comma flatter than <i>Suddha Ri</i> 9/8
„	6/5	„	„	<i>Ga Suddha</i> , we reach 25/24 <i>Ati Ati Komal Ri</i>
„	5/4 (<i>Suddha Ga</i>) interval from	<i>Sa</i> higher,	we reach 8/5, <i>i.e.</i> , <i>Komal Dha</i>	
„	5/4	„	„	<i>Pa</i> we reach 6/5, <i>i.e.</i> , <i>Komal Ga</i> (Harmonic)
„	5/4	„	„	<i>Suddha Ma</i> , we reach 16/15, <i>i.e.</i> , <i>Komal Ri</i>

Did the Indians know all about this? Yes, fairly,—one Ahobala is stated to have measured proportionate lengths on the South Indian Veena. A manuscript of his has been recently translated and published in the Journal of the Madras Music Academy (page 270, Vol. I). These figures are not quite correct probably owing to the curved bridge of the Veena, but they knew of the harmonic notes in the way they placed quite perfectly on the Veena, the frets fixed on hard wax. I shall at the commencement say, how the South Indian Veena is tuned. The string closest to the artist is *Sa* the fundamental key-note, the commencement of the middle octave for the human voice. The next behind is lower *Pa* and the other two strings are rarely played upon. Each of these strings has 24 frets beneath. The side strings are *Sa*,

Pa, *Sa* (higher) for keeping rhythm by twanging. In fact all musical compositions in the south or north, have their reach from the lower *Ma* to the higher *Pa*—i.e., a little more than 2 octaves.

Now, in fixing the frêts of the Veena, the musician met with a difficulty. The *Suddha Dha* ($5/3$) is at the position of $1/10$ th of *Pa* string, and behind the position of *Suddha Ri* (Fr. $9/8$) at $1/9$ th of the *Sa* string. *Komal Ni* (for long recognised as *Suddha Ma* of *Suddha Ma*, i.e., with the relative frequency of $16/9$), is at $5/32$ of this *Pa* string, i.e., behind the position of *Komal Ga* (Fr. $6/5$) at $1/6$ th of *Sa* string. The question therefore was how should he fix it. The Tanjore Veena-player finally decided then to place the *Suddha Ri* fret as frequency $10/9$ and *Komal Ga* at $32/27$, i.e., to correspond with the positions on *Pa* string, giving frequencies $5/3$ and $16/9$. It may be noticed that $10/9$ is also a harmonic note. This had an enormous effect on his music also, being a place at $1/10$ ths string damped and $9/10$ ths vibrating, since he felt that the slightly higher notes could be obtained by pressing the strings, as there was sufficient depth or hollow space below the frets. But they have of late fixed *Ri* (*Suddha Ri*) at fret $9/8$. The previous experience of the fixation of the positions of *Suddha Ri* and *Suddha Da*, and of *Komal Ga* and *Komal Ni* probably set the musicians thinking.

Then perhaps they began to set strings to concord. The Sanskrit books, I am told, say they proceeded by *Sa-Ma* method and *Sa* and *Pa* method, which gave them twenty-two notes within the one octave, barring of course the notes ($81/80$) sharper than *Sa* or flatter than *Pa* to the same extent. In the harmonium, only the 12 notes get repeated. This is easily verifiable.

We shall however proceed from the first key as fundamental note, *Sa*, for the following examples. If we proceed in *Sa*, by *Pa* intervals, we get first the *Pa*, the fifth key, if we go a further *Pa* interval, we get *Suddha Ri*. Here

drop an octave, and from *Suddha Ri* if you proceed an interval of *Pa* you get nearly *Suddha Dha*, then the key of *Suddha Ga*; drop an octave here. Go further *Pa*, we get *Suddha Ni*; on a further *Pa*, we get *Tivra Ma*: Drop an octave here, and on a further *Pa* we reach *Komal Ri*. Drop an octave, then *Komal Dha*; then *Komal Ga*; drop an octave; *Komal Ni*, then *Suddha Ma*; drop an octave, then go up a *Pa*; *Sa* higher is reached. Similarly, if you proceed by an interval of *Suddha Ma* the first will be *Suddha Ma*, the next will be a *Komal Ni*, the next will be *Komal Ga* and so on and you finally come back to *Sa* itself, and we must of course drop some four octaves in this process. But theoretically, *i.e.*, mathematically, however, and by finely perceiving ears, if we proceed by tuned strings, it will be found there is a slight difference in pitches, and we do not come back to the very same twelve notes as in the harmonium. This difference is roughly 24 logarithmic cents interval, on the presumption that the octave has 1,200 (logarithmic) cents; and the ancient Indian musicians presumed the existence of 22 notes in the interval from *Sa* to higher *Sa*. The frequencies of these 22 notes (*Srutis* as they are called, in Sanskrit, which have also been given names but the way to recognise them has been lost to us) may be calculated as follows:—The relative frequencies are as the inverse of the vibrating positions of the string the tension being constant.

R_1	R_2	R_3	R_4	G_1	G_2	G_3	G_4	M_1	M_2	
$\frac{256}{243}$	$\frac{16}{15}$	$\frac{10}{8}$	$\frac{9}{8}$	$\frac{32}{27}$	$\frac{6}{5}$	$\frac{5}{4}$	$\frac{81}{64}$	$\frac{4}{3}$	$\frac{27}{20}$	
M_3	M_4	P	D_1	D_2	D_3	D_4	N_1	N_2	N_3	N_4
$\frac{45}{32}$	$\frac{64}{45}$	$3/2$	$\frac{128}{81}$	$\frac{8}{5}$	$\frac{5}{3}$	$\frac{27}{16}$	$\frac{16}{9}$	$\frac{9}{5}$	$\frac{15}{8}$	$\frac{243}{128}$

Of course, excluding the interval of 2 cents which is clearly recognised even by fine ear at all in this process,

sloka runs thus च त, अत, शैव षड्ज मध्यम पञ्चमाः हे हे निषादगान्धारी ललि ऋषभ धैवती.

From this, we may guess that these *Srutis* had reference to Karaharapriya (or Kaphi) Mela Raga found in "Sama Gana" of the Vedas. These difficulties were also perceived to a large extent by those who fixed the 12 frets of the Veena, and the Tanjore musician, therefore, fixed them in the octave at the following frequencies on *Sa* string as the method followed by him indicates.

16/15, 10/9, 32/27, 5/4, 4/3, 45/32, 3/2, 8/5, 5/3, 16/9, 15/8, and 2,

and it would be noticed that he had decided to take mainly, the lower of the two frequencies in brackets above. It may interest you to know that the South Indian calls the *Suddha Ri* (Fr. 9/8) the *chatuh sruti Ri* (or 4th *sruti Ri*).

The question may be asked whether the Indian Melodist uses these 22 frequencies (and 8 others to be mentioned below). It can be definitely stated by me from an understanding of the technique of Violin play that these frequencies are attempted to be reached by the South Indian musician, and also by the Violinist who follows the modulations of the vocal music. These notes may be said to arise also from another manner, namely, that in the technique of high music, the vocal chords easily step, *i.e.*, fall or rise by a harmonic interval of 6/5, or 5/4 or 4/3 or 3/2, *i.e.*, a harmonic *Komal Ga*, harmonic *Suddha Ga*, *Suddha Madhyama*, and *Parchama* interval from "harmonic notes."

Suppose you stop at *Suddha Dha* (frequency 5/3), and if you want to pass a 4/3 *Suddha* interval we reach 20/9 or 10/9 and not 9/8 (*Suddha Ri* concurring with *Pa*). Similarly, from 'Ma' a 4/3 interval is 16/9 and not 9/5 the harmonic note on Pasting and supposing you want to drop from the note 5/4, a 6/5 interval, we reach the note 25/24 and not 16/15. You will therefore notice that the correct delineation

of sweetness depends on the correct appreciation of the pitches of these notes, and of the intervals.

Again, say the prominent note in a Raga is *Suddha Ri* (Fr. 9/8) and we desire to pass a $3/2$ interval, the note reached is $27/16$. Then it has to be produced even when it is not a harmonic note relative to *Sa*, but while in relation to *Pa* it is so, being $3/2 \times 9/8$. They also knew that in tuning the 'Tambura' with frequencies of $3/4$, 1, 1, $\frac{1}{2}$, i.e., *Pa* lower, *Sa*, *Sa* and (*Sa* lower), they could hear *Suddha Ga* ($5/4$), the sum of the notes, in the process of twanging.

The Hindus found another fact, that the *Ga* approximating *Suddha Ga*, produced by the throat in combination with other notes, or which was easy and effortless to the voice was just a little sharper than the Harmonic *Suddha Ga* ($5/4$). (See *ga* in the song "*Tulasi dala Mulache santhoshamui ga*"). My own musical study, especially of North Indian Music, impresses me that it is even so with reference to *Ni* in the neighbourhood of *Sa*. The books say also that there were only seven Ragas in the commencement, and they eschewed the seventh Raga, and retained only six. This has probably reference to the six Grecian scales, which are preserved as :

Karnatic Mela Raga.	Key Note for change of Raga.	Hindusthani.
(1) Sankarabharana	Sa	Belawal That
(2) Kalyani	Sudh. Ma	Kalyani „
(3) Thodi	Sudh. Ga	Bhairabi „
(4) Kharaharapriya	Sudh. Ri	Kaphi „
(5) Nata Bhairavi	Sudh. Da	Asaveri „
(6) Hari kambodhi	Pa	Khambaj „

All these are fairly the same Sankarabharana, if the *adhara sruti* or keynote is changed; in the seventh Raga by this variation the perfect fifth does not appear, and so it appears to have been thrown out. The genius of the South

Indian music consists in the fact that the general character of the melody has been changed in these six Ragas, in relation to the key note *Sa*, and each gives a different effect on the ear. Suffice it to say, that in the evolved South Indian music, as it is sung to-day or played on the Veena or the violin, which approximates very much to the vocal music, the divisions in the octave of these 12 notes are not at all sufficient to produce the tonal effect (I mean as regards even the fundamental, without reference to the higher harmonics or upper partials of the human voice or the violin). These 12 notes are rough, being only approximations, and it becomes an intellectual problem as to the number of musical notes which enter into the composition of high melody which is sweet to the ear and satisfies our sense of the aesthetic.

I suggested an enquiry (then in December, 1928) whether we should not state the Raga picture (as I should call it with reference to the minimum twenty-two *srutis*, and that we should try to link up the characteristic notes of each Raga, giving the *srutis* more recognisable names. I say characteristic because one is not sure whether the other twin note (varying by the frequency of a comma $81/80$) does not enter at all. Only when we stop at a note for some appreciable length of time, can we say definitely its frequency. I suggested then what appeared to me as the characteristic notes appearing in the above 6 Ragas, besides Maya Malava Gaula (or Bhairao *that* in Hindusthani nomenclature). I later on suggested some of the important *janya* Ragas (I shall explain this word a little later) of the South Indian Music, and I am glad to say that they have met fairly with the approval of some of the finer ears. These results have been published in the proceedings of the Madras Musical Academy and in the journal started by the Society. But these are all shrewd guesses ascertained by the mechanical technique of fingering the violin. Besides the above, I think I can recognise 6 more; two of them have frequencies $25/24$ (or 70 cents.)

sharper than *Sa* and *Pa* and two of them flatter to the same extent from *Sa* and *Ma*; that is to say, their frequency ratios are $25/24$, $25/16$, $32/25$ and $48/25$; there are two more in this series $36/25$, $25/18$. I am not able to say in what Ragas the last two occur. There are two other harmonic notes $7/4$ and $7/6$, obtained by damping $1/7$ th of the string from below on the two, *Pa* and *Sa* strings. The note with relative frequency $7/4$, Hemholtz says, is very sweet to hear and I was always very much wondering for a long time whether Hindus (the master exponents of the melodic art) could not have found it at all. I can now associate it with the *Ni* of Ahiri Raga (South Indian), which once heard rings for a long while in one's ears, but I have heard this Raga only twice in all these 14 years. The order of pitch is as below $7/4$, $16/9$, $9/5$. We are so much used to $16/9$ being $4/3$ of $4/3$ that we always forget $7/4$. I recently recognised the note frequency of $7/6$ in the corresponding note of *Sa* string in the Hindusthani Thodi Raga as sung by Pt. Vishnu Digambar's Musical school, when I was recently learning the Raga and my observation that the note is neither *Ati-Komal Ga*, nor *Komal Ga* had the vocalists' immediate acceptance. With my increasing experience of these musical concepts, I find that the real character of melody is still not properly understood. I have a strong feeling that the minimum of 112 cents interval (or $16/15$ from a harmonic note) is not at all right. The 90 cents interval seems to be prevalent in the 6 Ragas first mentioned, but in the Malawa Gaula, it is more properly rising or falling by 70 cents interval or $25/24$, when it drops or ascends slightly. See also the *Ni* of Pilu or Keeravani (South India) where the lower *Ni* has a frequency of $24/25$, an interval of $5/4$ below $6/5$. Further, I find from various songs that a $10/9$ interval is very much sweeter than a $9/8$ interval, though everybody knows that the throat reaches most easily $6/5$, $5/4$ or $4/3$ or $3/2$ interval from any harmonic note. These can only be studied properly by Millar's

Phonodyk where curves on a photographic plate are obtained by reflected light from a mirror from the oscillation of a diaphragm vibrating to music.

The other problem to be studied is the extent of *Gamaka* (meaning movement) within practically the same note. I can give you a few instances as are to be found in *Ri* in Madhyambati Karnatic (or Sarang Hindusthani), *Ga* in Kalyani, *Ni* in Thodi (Karnatic). Another thing also strikes me, namely the aptness of the Telegu language as compared with other languages of Sanskrit origin. In South India there are also Sanskrit compositions set to music and I have heard a lot of Maharashtra songs of the Vishnu Digambar Musical School and Hindusthani songs in Lucknow and the Punjab. The peculiarity of the Telegu language is the vowel sound behind each consonant and the large absence of the conjunct consonants at least in the musical pieces. I can illustrate them by Thiagaraja's compositions and you can see how he has finely selected the words, and it is these musical vowel sounds, which had enabled the South Indian musician to enrich his music by slightly varying the degrees of pitch (which are not totally absent in Northern Indian Music as well). I dare say that the same notes of the frequencies I have mentioned do appear in the Hindusthani music but the order in which they do so, seems to me however to be different, but they are not made use of to the same extent as in South India, nor can I say that all of them do come in. The character of the North Indian music is that it is pleasant to the South Indian ear at first, but immediately, after less than half an hour, even when different Ragas are being sung, monotony sets in for us. I am not alone in this opinion ; why it is so, even when one is able to decipher the music by the various notes according to the notation of the 12 notes, is a thing which I am unable to explain.

What the European has done with his notes is, in tuning the piano he has tried to fix all the notes equidistant, *i.e.*, in

geometrical ratio to the 12 notes in the octave, that is to say, the relation of one note to the next note is the 12th root of 2. He actually achieves it in the piano-tuning, I understand, by carefully counting the beats on *Sa-Ma* and *Sa-Pa* basis so as to make them an absolute minimum. It is a very elaborate process, all with the avowed object of hearing artificially created concords for 4 or more notes, played at the same time. I have it on the authority of an European violinist that the *swara-jnana* of the Hindu musician is very great; that is to say, at the least the immediate recognition of the exact pitch (so far as the system of 12 notes is concerned) is marvellous. Why then, should we lose our heritage, this sense of *swara-jnana* and of *srutis*? and I leave it to you to decide the answer. If I had the power, I would throw away all the harmoniums into a heap and make a bonfire of all those which India has purchased. This harmonium came in as a servant, but has now become the master of the household in Northern India, and it is entirely against the highest Indian traditions of the art of music, and I feel it a sacrilege to practise upon such a whining and howling instrument. I can only plead that every one with some musical tendencies or bias, if his voice is not sweet, should know to play upon a musical instrument such as the Sitar, the Sarangi, the Esraj, the Veena or the violin. The last instrument, the violin is a superb one, in that it has neither the defects of the Sitar nor of the Veena as the sound can be kept continuous for a long time and modulations of the human voice can be reproduced. Also in the intonations of the violin, you have a remarkable method of obtaining the accurate musical sounds. I have still to hear the North Indian instrumentalist who will play the violin exactly true in pitch, as it is produced by the human voice of the Northern Indian Singer (of course unaccompanied by the harmonium) and all I can say is if you can master the violin, there is probably a great future for the Northern Music.

To sum up, besides the twenty-two notes on *Sa-Pa* and *Sa-Ma* basis, eight other notes into relative frequencies $25/24$, $25/16$, $25/8$, $32/25$, $48/25$, $36/25$, $7/4$, $7/6$ altogether about 30 notes in an octave are used in our music. I have already indicated in some measure how *srutis* (as they are technically called) came into existence. When and where these can occur is a matter of art, and the aesthetic sense alone can say how and when they should be produced.

The intellectual understanding of these pitches is gained only after a large experience in violin or Veena practice by an ear trained to observe very small variations in pitch. These frequencies of the notes have been selected by shrewd guesses from the large number of natural notes given by Helmholtz in his "Sensations of Tone." But these are fairly accurate as judged from the sonometer. But they should be capable of actual verification by a Millar's Phonodyk.

The Raga classification of South India is based on the fact that every complete Raga (*sampurna* सम्पूर्ण raga) must take one *Ri*, one *Ga*, one *Ma*, one *Dha*, and one *Ni*, besides *Sa* and *Pa*. It is easy to see that there can be $4 \times 4 \times 2$, that is to say, 32 variations or (*sampurna*) ragas. Of course, in the true South Indian Schools, two Madhayamas are rarely taken together or not at all. The Janya Ragas are Ragas in each of these scales with certain notes omitted, in the ascent or descent, or they may come about *vakra* (or in irregular ways). Such as have come to be sweet and have an individuality have remained. The South Indian artists have gone further, and say that it should be possible to use the *Komal Ri* with *Suddha Ri* (pronouncing the latter, of course, as *Ga* in the proper pitch), and similarly to use *Komal Ga* with *Suddha Ga*, the former *Ga* as being pronounced *Ri* in the proper pitch. Similarly, with the variation for *Dha* and *Ni*, the number of variations for *sampurna* Ragas will be then $4c3 \times 4c3 \times 2$ or 72 and it is only the expert musician who can produce

pleasure (*ranjana*) in these musical combinations of these other 40 Ragas.

One other important fact regarding the tuning of the violin. We South Indians tune the four strings thus *Sa*, *Pa-Sa* higher and *Pa* higher. This is an important variation we have done since the singing of melody requires always a drone. Tuning thus makes the soul of music, *Sa* and *Pa* ring in our ears, and the melody will thus always be true.

C. SUBRAHMANYA

THE OUTLOOK FOR AMERICAN POLITICAL RADICALISM

With the nation gripped in the most severe financial crisis of its history, it is reasonable to expect that the people of the United States of America will during such a period, if at any time, register their disapproval of the economic order of which their country has become the world's leading exponent.

In the United States such a demonstration of disapproval is not likely to take the form of violence. The capitalistic and individualistic social order has operated so well in the past that little more than sporadic outbreaks have resulted from its present breakdown. The American people have, in the main, been a contented people, with a long stretch of years behind them in which they have lived in the world's most successful country, financially speaking. When there is a break in their fortune, even one lasting more than three years, they are not likely to turn viciously on their government, but instead to seek peaceful means of exhibiting their sentiments.

The march of the Bonus Expeditionary Force on Washington, the farmers' strike in the middle west, and the several hunger riots of more than local significance are only mild protests in the light of certain facts: that the United States has a population of 120,000,000; that it stretches 3,000 miles from the Atlantic to the Pacific Oceans and for more than half that distance north and south. In the densely populated countries of Europe the amount of unrest appears to be far greater.

The outlet for any existing dissatisfaction with the *status quo* logically was the national election day in the fall of 1932. Before November 8 of that year not a few observers expected that the ballot boxes of the nation would reveal a sharp turn

to the left. The Marxist radical political parties hoped that, combined, they might poll 4,000,000 or 5,000,000 votes. Pre-election soundings of the sentiment found many of the intellectuals alienated from the two major parties, the Republican and the Democratic, and evidently giving their allegiance to the Socialists, Communists, Socialist-Laborites, Proletarians, and other left groups.

The Socialist Party of America alone was expected to receive the support of at least 2,000,000 voters. Led by a man so far superior to any other candidate in the field in so far as personal qualifications are concerned, the Socialists were in some quarters—the more optimistic, to be sure—thought to be powerful enough to poll possibly 3,000,000 or 4,000,000 votes. The personality and achievements of Mr. Norman Thomas alone, it seemed, would be good for a half million votes.

The other minor parties whose social philosophy is diametrically opposed to that of the parties in power throughout the land also felt quite certain tremendously to increase their votes over previous years. The official Communist Party, although torn by factionalism, had nominated Mr. William Z. Foster once again, and given him as running-mate Mr. James I. Fords who, being a Negro, was expected to obtain the support of many of his race, never favored by any major political organization since the days of Abraham Lincoln. The Socialist-Labor Party put into the field Mr. Verne L. Reynolds as its presidential candidate, and even this oldest American radical group was expected to do better than in other years.

What really happened on November 8 proved to be one of the most surprising of American elections, from the viewpoint of the Marxian parties. The total vote for the leftist groups, instead of reaching the awaited four or five million, approximated only 1,200,000. Out of 40,000,000 voters, only so few as this were willing to condemn the present order to the extent of voting for one radically different. The Socialist

Party, in spite of Mr. Thomas' leadership, polled not quite 1,000,000 votes, and all other minor parties of the Marxian tenor divided the remainder between them. Liberals throughout the country, not to mention the members of the left wing political organizations, were keenly disappointed in the result. They have been seeking explanations, presenting several and attempting to determine which supply the answer or whether all contributed to the solution.

It is not, it seems to me, a case of any one explanation proving sufficient. A few careful thinkers anticipated the situation and based their reasoning on what appear to be logical premises.

It was reasonable to expect some gain for the followers of Karl Marx in the United States. Socialist political organizations in many other countries, notably Spain, Denmark, Russia, and Belgium, have been gaining in strength. There was no reason to think the United States an exception. The time was ripe for the socialist point of view. With from ten to fifteen million unemployed and again that number working part time only (exact figures cannot be given, for, as one radical leader points out, in America the number of pigs is known exactly, but the number of unemployed can only be guessed at) it was inevitable that the educational work of the Socialist Party and the agitational work of the Communist Party should gain adherents to them both. As we shall see later, that gain did come. But the optimistic expectation that millions would be added to the number of Marxians was not well founded.

We first of all must remember that the names of the leading radical parties are in general disfavor in the United States. Immediately after the World War, it will be recalled, the country was swept with what has come to be known as the "great red scare." In a nation where the capitalistic system was working at its best (even though in the most prosperous of times from one to two million persons were

unemployed) any suggestion of change was greeted, during 1918 and 1919 particularly, as ingratitude, treason, and perfidy. The Russian revolution having been successful, and the more blatant Communist leaders of Russia talking incessantly of world revolution, American industrial leaders, small capitalists as well as large, began what has been named rightly "a reign of terror" for the extermination of opponents of the dominant social and economic order. Fresh from the violence of participation in war, the returned soldiers and the stay-at-home patriots condemned right and left any semblance of disagreement with the existing order. Pacifists, communists, socialists, anarchists, syndicalists, and holders of other views considered unorthodox were lumped as being subversive and traitorous. Post-war organizations of soldiers and of industrial groups, fearing the redistribution of wealth that would come under a socialization of the country, as well as sincere but misguided patriots, succeeded in planting in the average person's mind the thought that socialism in any form is an enemy to the welfare of mankind and to the welfare to Uncle Sam at least. All supporters of anything but rugged individualism are to be ostracized. A recent example of this attitude was the attempt to exclude Professor Einstein from the United States made by a group of women "patriots."

Furthermore, the Catholic Church in the States forbids its communicants from supporting socialism. Also, anything of foreign origin, unless it be Paris or London styles, is looked down upon by many Americans, so that political and economic ideas originating in Europe are thought to be dangerous.

It is against such a background that the Marxian political parties have been struggling during the past decade. Mistakes in technique, coupled with lack of material resources, have been tremendous handicaps. In addition, upholders of the existing order have used every conceivable

means of preventing the idea of socialization gaining strength, although they have been surprisingly unsuccessful in some quarters. Violation of the civil liberties is the commonest method. Preventing radical newspapers from passing through the mails, deporting holders of radical views, and injecting counter-propaganda into school books, motion pictures, newspapers, magazines, and other media of communicating information are everyday occurrences.

The Socialist Party, which is the largest left wing political group in the land, was wrecked when the United States entered the war. Officially it refused to sanction the country's entrance and many of its leaders, among them Eugene V. Debs, now become a socialist saint, were thrown into jail. Other Socialists, like Norman Thomas, remained as conscientious objectors outside of jail walls. The greater majority of the members of the party succumbed, however, to the beating of drums and the work of the department of justice, and rallied round the flag, many sincerely believing that this war would end war, and the end of war was a good socialist objective. Moreover, in 1919 the Socialists who considered themselves the most radical broke away and formed the Communist (also known as the Workers') Party.

These splits meant that the gains made during the preceding twenty years were lost. Eugene Debs, at the height of his career, had obtained more than 900,000 votes. How serious were these blows can be realised when we say that in 1928, even with Norman Thomas as their candidate, the American Socialist Party polled barely more than 250,000 votes throughout the country.

In addition certain unwise compromises cost the Socialist Party much influence. In 1920, for example, instead of placing their own national candidates in the running, they gave their support, vainly it turned out, to Senator Robert F. LaFollette, the Wisconsin reformer who went down to defeat with less than five million votes. The senator's ideals

were high, but he was not a socialist, and more important than all, his followers were progressive or liberals, but not radicals. The Socialist Party, as a result, lost its place on the ballots of twenty-four of the states in the union and have to this day not regained it in some.

The Workers' or Communist Party, second largest of the smaller groups, has been scourged by the "patriots" more than the Socialists, because of direct association with Soviet Russia. Patrioteers seeking either money or acclaim have been bedevilling the American Communists in good Spanish Inquisition fashion, and not always has the party flourished from the attention.

Then also, the American Communist Party has since its inception in 1919 been considered hopelessly visionary. Its members too often picture converting the already industrialized United States into a Soviete Russia, with its many frontiers and its huge industrial future ahead of, instead of behind, it. They have taken orders from Moscow, instead of fitting themselves to the American scene. They have been pitifully weak as to leadership and have lacked unity, quarrelling among themselves like dogs.

Another factor in the situation is that paradox of politics : When times are ripest for drastic change (during the financial depression) the money available for financing such a change is low.

There is still another partial explanation. Many voters, fearing that a change in government was not certain, abandoned the Marxian candidates in the closing days of the campaign and cast their "protest" vote through the Democratic Party instead. In the opinion of the leftist parties this was not protest at all, for the two major political organizations are considered to be twins.

Then there were the last minute tactics of the major party candidates, especially Mr. Hoover, who talked about grass growing in the city streets if his opponent were elected !

Dire predictions of the total collapse of American business if the Democrats were elected were made by the party in power. This type of appeal pushed many superficial albeit potential Socialist and Communist Party voters into the major party camps.

And now we come to a major factor. The question arises : How much should be said about the disenfranchisement of voters for Marxian parties in the States? Very little can be said for very little is known.

The Communist Party was not on the ballot in many of the states. In five even the much more tolerated Socialist Party could not print the names of Norman Thomas and James Maurer on the ballots as the candidates for president and vice president. Names of the standard-bearers of these two parties as well as of the Socialist-Labor Party had to be written in. Thus it is safe to say that for this reason alone there are probably more voters for a left-wing party than election results ever reveal.

Nor should we forget the failure to count all the votes cast from minor parties. This is done, as all familiar with elections can attest, either by persons deliberately attempting to deprive parties of their vote or by careless election officials who think that the votes of losers are not of importance.

In the United States the number of votes cast for unsuccessful candidates for the national offices of president and vice-president is lost except as a protest and as an indication of the strength of those out of sympathy with the party in power. The 100,000 persons who voted for Messrs Foster and Ford in the recent presidential election have no representation in Congress. Their position is hopeless until they can concentrate enough votes in one community to send a man to Washington. Even the Socialist Party, with between 900,000 and 1,000,000 votes cast for it in 1932, has not a single representative in the national capital. There is little

opportunity, therefore for a fundamental difference of opinion on national issues to appear in the halls of government.

Thus we see that the American radical political parties have been suffering from at least three influences : their own weak technique and lack of organization, the offensive against them carried on continually by the parties in power, and the circumstances of the past two decades (the war and the poverty of the protestors against poverty).

What lies ahead for radical American political parties?

The view forward is far more reassuring than the look backward.

For the immediate future the Socialist Party of America has most to expect of all the leftist parties. The approximately one million votes obtained by it in 1920 were due only in part to the personality and power of Eugene V. Debs. At that time there were 5,000 branches and locals (in the United States this party resembles a large club, with dues paying and regular community meetings). Last year the same number of votes was obtained, but there were only 1,200 branches and locals. Mr. Thomas' personality and power, were of course, responsible for many of these votes, but it is likely that stronger and wider organisation of the party would have brought more.

Money, also was lacking in the recent election. The campaign fund of the Socialists barely exceeded \$50,000 for the national drive (how small this sum is may be realized when we compare it with the millions spent by the two major parties). This was one fourth of the money available to the Socialists in 1928, when Mr. Thomas polled but a quarter of a million votes.

The prediction might be made, therefore, that in 1936 this party will probably double its present strength, unless it is again disrupted by a war or an internal rift. The likelihood that the economic regime in power will rehabilitate itself is so remote that the Socialists are confident of retaining their

present strength. Each day that this can be done, the more firm in their convictions will be Socialist voters of 1932, because of the educational campaign being carried on by the party.

We have been considering only the political fortunes of social movements whose economic views are based on socialization or collective ownership. With the growth in political strength of the socialist parties comes what may be a significant and lasting growth in actual socialization. Also other planks of the socialist parties than collective ownership of the means of production seem to be coming into their own.

A familiar remark in the States is that under the administration of Herbert Hoover there was in use more socialist technique (wrongly applied by the capitalists) than under that of any other chief executive. The reconstruction Finance Corporation, the Wickersham Commissions, and the various other committees of that type, while designed to preserve the *status quo* are in principle a movement in the right direction (for the left point of view!).

More and more is the government of the United States going into business always in the wrong way and with the wrong motive, the Marxists declare, but at least the people are entrusting more of their affairs to their elected representatives. The Federal Trade Commission, the National Farm Board, and the Interstate Commerce Commission are all cases in point.

One of the most startling of these signs of the trend towards socialisation, and one that is an out-and-out Socialist and Communist Party ideal, was the recommendation of the Wilbur Committee late in 1932 that medicine be socialized. Although nothing may result from the recommendation of the doctors and nurses who made this study and suggestion, it is a significant indication of what may soon happen.

There is also the nation-wide interest in a plan for the control of the machine and of unemployment advanced by a

group of 350 American engineers and scientists known as technocrats. Any steps taken toward the realization of the plans of technocracy would be steps toward certain of the ultimate aims of the socialist political groups in the States.

A word about the more distant future: The probability is that if the socialist movement gains strength and comes into power in the United States at all, it will not be through the success of any of the present socialist parties as such. As Professor Paul Douglas prophesies, a third party, including all the present Marxian third parties strengthened by the disillusioned Republicans and Democrats, will come into existence and force the Republicans and Democrats to combine. This third party will then become the real second party in the American political system and when it comes into power will complete the socialization of the country.

If, as is the opinion of some American thinkers, there is no prosperity like that of 1928 and 1929 ahead, if normal has been reached, and if no world or national catastrophe interferes, the evolution of the political and economic institutions of the United States seems to be toward the left. The movement is slow, but it can be accelerated, and as matters now stand, the tempo seems destined to be speeded up.

R. E. WOLSELEY

STUDIES IN THE TANTRAS

The *Tantras* provide a wide and complicated department of study, from both religious and philosophical points of view, but we would like to point it out at the very outset that in the following pages an attempt is made to give only a cursory view of the subject, without going into detail on any specific aspects. One can approach the *Tantras* from more than one standpoint. It is no exaggeration to say that the *Tantras* constitute by themselves such an extensive literature and embody such a widespread system of religious thought that the like of it is not available elsewhere. Whether as a system of spiritual discipline, or as a popular form of religious practice current almost from the Vedic age, the Tāntric mode of worship has a peculiar interest of its own. It has, in one sense, far outshone the religion of the Purāṇas by its resourcefulness in mysticism and its sacred method of internal purification.

First of all, Tāntric religion, which has brought with it the reminiscence of the Vedic rituals in so conspicuous a way, cannot be considered to be inferior to other Indian religions in point of antiquity; and its contents and ideals are in no way less salutary than those of other popular religions of India. Secondly, the mystic process of devotion inculcated in the *Tantras* by way of emphasising the potency of the *mantras* and the concentration of the mind on the deity behind the same gives rise to a kind of religious consciousness in which the worshipper finds himself ultimately united with the Supreme Being, and thus gets all his inner cravings fully satisfied. Thirdly, to a casual reader of the *Tantras* it may appear that they often exhibit a grossly materialistic attitude towards life, but a closer reflection and deeper insight will

make it sufficiently clear that the teaching of the *Tantras* is highly spiritual at its core, and is the same illuminating truth as was preached by the *ṛṣis* of the Upaniṣads in bygone days. A deeper study of the *Tantras* will bring us face to face with a super-sensuous world—a world of perfect beauty and joy.

The *Tantras* have set forth a great principle of spiritual life—a system of selfless devotion to the Highest—which is so much needed for the realisation of one's own self. They have held out before us an ennobling ideal, ethical as well as spiritual, that goes to show how the path of worldly enjoyment (*bhoga-mārga*), strewn with all that is desirable and delicious, may also lead to a state of absolute indifference (*vairāgya*), making a sort of reconciliation between those two diametrically opposite tendencies of our life which no other systems of religious experience could so harmoniously blend together. What really differentiates a Tāntric worshipper from other religious devotees is: while the former follows a course of religious practice which confers upon him mundane pleasures as well as the final liberation from the bondage of *samsāra*, the latter is only entitled to get either of the two (*bhoga* or *mokṣa*) as the case may be.¹ It is said in the the *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa* (*Lalitā-sahasranāma stotra*) that one cannot achieve both *bhoga* and *apavarga* at the same time unless he turns to be a worshipper of the goddess *Tripurāsundarī*.²

The majority of scholars, both Eastern and Western, are of opinion that there is very little in the whole *Tantra*

¹ नान्यः पन्था सुक्तिहेतुरिहामुच सुखाप्तये ।

यथा तन्मोदितो मार्गो मोक्षाय च सुखाय च ॥'

—Mahānirvāṇa, 2. 20.

यदास्ति भोगो न च तत्र मोक्षो यदास्ति मोक्षो न च तत्र भोगः ।

[श्रीसुन्दरीतर्पणतत्पराणां] देवी-पदास्त्रोज-समाश्रितानां भोगश्च मोक्षश्च करस्व एव ॥

—Kaulāvalī-Tantra, 8.

² तस्मादशेषलोकानां त्रिपुराराधनं विना ।

न स्त्री भोगापवर्गौ तु योगपथेन कृत्वचित् ॥

literature as would fully repay one's serious investigation. It is contended further that the *Tantras* represent a semi-barbarous or non-Aryan religion, accompanied by drinking and other ignoble practices, which have very little or nothing to do with the real object of religion, *viz.*, moral and spiritual progress in life. To those who are not initiated into the mysticism of the *Tantras* and acquainted with the mind behind the Tāntric rites, the *Tantras* preach only a type of religion that deserves nothing but contempt and condemnation.

We must admit that some Tāntric practices (as *pañcatattva*) are outwardly so repulsive and indecent that people with a refined notion of morality are likely to decry them through bitter abhorrence. But this is not all that is preached by the *Tantras*. We will do great injustice to the Tāntric religion if we set ourselves to judge its merits in the light of these external forms, or, in other words, give undue prominence to the formal side without penetrating deep into the very heart of the thing. Apart from the spiritual significance of the *pañcatattva*,¹ the *Tantras* exhibit another aspect which is none

¹ As a necessary part of *sādhana*, the Tāntric practice of drinking is not merely intended for intoxication, but it has a far greater object in view, as will be clear from the following passages :

ब्रह्मरन्ध्रात् क्षरेद् या तु सीमधारा वरानने ।

पौलानन्दमयीं तां यः स एव मद्यसाधकः ॥

सीमार्कानलसंघट्टात् खलितं यत् परावृतम् । तेनाहतेन दिव्येन तर्पयेत् परदेवताम् ॥

—Gandharva-Tantra, 6.

सुरा शक्तिः शिवो मांसं तद्भोक्ता भैरवः स्वयम् ।—Kulārṇava.

The history of *surā* (wine) as a divine goddess having the power of conferring immortality upon a scrupulous *sādhaka* is to be found in many places. It has been stated in the *Mahābhārata* that *surā* was one of the fascinating things that came out as the result of sea-churning (*surādevī samutpannā*). The *devas* are said to have received the name *sura* from the fact of their drinking *surā* which is often called *amṛta* or *cidānandamayī* in the *Tantras*. *Surā* is also called *madhu* (honey) and is said to be a delightful drink of the Divine Mother ;—

गर्जं गर्जं चणं मूढ ! सधु यावत् पिबाम्यहम् ।

—Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa.

the less valuable and striking from the standpoint of philosophy.

The *Tantras*, as we shall see later on, have the same object in view and have practically followed the same path as we usually find in the Vedānta or philosophy *par excellence*.¹ How *Tantra* and Vedānta come to meet together on a common platform in the long run and how ultimately they submerge into the all-absorbing *Brahmavidyā* has been clearly borne out by the great Śaṅkara in his *Prapañcasāra* (a treatise on *Tantra*) and in his famous *stotra*, namely, *Ānandalaharī* where *Śakti* or Divine Mother has been identified with the Supreme Reality or Brahman. Tāntric *sādhana* and *Brahmavidyā* in their metaphysical sense run through the same channel, and have the same destination to reach. Difference does not lie so much in the essence as in the method of procedure.²

Having an eye to the theological and metaphysical importance of the *Tantras* we venture to state that the study of the *Tantras* with an unbiased mind will prove to be as interesting as thought-provoking. The *Tantras* are something more than meaningless superstitions ; their ideal is purer than

śurā was also a favourite drink of Balarāma. Drinking is a substitute for the Vedic ritual of *somapāna*. The *Kulārṇava* says :—

यथा क्रतुषु विप्राणां सोमपानं विधीयते ।

मद्यपानं तथा कार्यं समये भोगनोचदम् ॥ 5.90.

It also gives rise to *ānanda* that lies within the body of a *sādhaka*. The *Kulārṇava* has justified drinking on the following ground :—

आनन्दं ब्रह्मणो रूपं तच्च देहे व्यवस्थितम् ।

तस्याभिव्यक्तकं द्रव्यं (wine) योगिमिक्षेन पीयते ॥ 5.80.

¹ Self-realisation (*ātma-jñāna*) is held to be the end of Tāntric *sādhana*; and one who has attained this stage is said to be liberated from *saṃsāra*—

लब्धज्ञानः कृतार्थः स्यात् संसारात् प्रतिसुच्यते ।

ज्ञात्वात्मानं परं ब्रह्म वेदानैः प्रतिपादितम् ॥

—Mantramahodadhi.

² रुचीनां वैचित्र्यादनुकुटिलनानापथयुषां नृणामेकी गम्यस्वमसि पयसामर्णव इव ।

—Mahimna-stotra.

gross self-enjoyment, and what they pretend to preach by way of rituals and worship aims undoubtedly at a higher fulfilment of life. The saying 'things are not what they seem,' is nowhere more applicable than in the case of the *Tantras*. Most of us know almost nothing about the *Tantras* nor do we care to know much of them on account of the deep-rooted assumption that they add but very little to one's stock of knowledge, and possess no such glaring features as might attract the notice of the intelligentsia. It is really a pitiable thing. No department of studies seems to have been more misunderstood and at the same time more misrepresented than the *Tantras* through sheer want of faith and proper attention.

Thanks to the labours of Sir John Woodroffe who, by his valuable contributions and editions of the Tāntric texts, has succeeded in awakening a curiosity among the present-day scholars to investigate into the vast field of study opened out by the *Tantras*, a greater amount of attention is now being focussed on the store-house of this mysterious literature. One may reasonably expect that time will come when the study of the *Tantras* will — regain its former position in the domain of religious literature, the object of the Tāntric rites being interpreted as true fundamentals of one's religious life.

What does the word *Tantra* mean? Let us say first of all that it means a good deal.¹ Most of us seem to entertain the misconception that *Tantra*, viewed from the standpoint of *Śāstra*, is the name of a branch of literature which fundamentally deals with *Śakti* and *Śiva* in their various aspects; and as a form of worship, *Tantra* or Tantricism is the same as *Śāktaism* or *Saivism*. We ought to crave the indulgence of our readers before remarking somewhat boldly that this sort

¹ तनोति विपुलानर्थान्सास्त्रमन्त्रसमन्वितान् ।

व्राणं च कुरुते यस्मात्तन्त्रमित्यभिधीयते ॥

of restriction of meaning betrays only a poor idea about the importance of *Tantra* and Tāntric worship. The *Tantra*, we should say, has got a far wider signification.

The *Tantra-sāstra* has been designated by a multiplicity of names, such as *āgama*, *āmnāya*, *rahasya*, *sāmbhavi-vidyā* and so forth. It is called *āgama*, because it is supposed to have come out of the mouth of Śiva and delivered to Girijā : 'आगतं शिव-वक्त्रेभ्यो गतं च गिरिजामुखे.'¹ It is called *āmnāya* and its number is calculated to be seven on account of their issuing forth from the seven mouths of Śiva.² The *Kulārṇava Tantra* is thus styled *urddhvāmnāya* and *mahārahasya*. It is called *rahasya*, since it has striking analogy with the secret teaching of the Upaniṣads and Āraṇyakas in respect of its mystical interpretation of life.

To turn to the point at issue, the word *Tantra* has the same connotation as the word *Sāstra*. A cursory glance is only required to show that '*Tantra*' has been a word that is often used to denote *Sāstras* or departments of studies in general. Evidence may be multiplied to corroborate this assertion.³

Though intrinsically a name of *Sāstras* in general, it cannot be denied that the expression *Tantra-Sāstra* has, however, acquired a special denotation. We now use the word *Tantra* in a somewhat narrow sense. The *Tantras* are generally classified under four heads, namely, *Śākta-Tantra*, *Saiva-Tantra*,

¹ It is believed that the three great geographical divisions of India, namely, *Aśva-kṛānta*, *Rathakṛānta* and *Viṣṇukṛānta*, had each 64 original *Tantras* assigned to it by Śiva.

² The names of the seven mouths of Śiva are as follow : *taṭpuruṣa*, *aghora*, *śadyo-jāta*, *vāmadeva*, *īśvara*, *nīlakaṇṭha*, *caitanya*. The last two are secret and for the rest (five) Śiva is called *pañcavaktra*.

³ The Sāṅkhya system is called *Ṣaṣṭi-Tantra* :—

सप्तत्या किल वेदार्थविज्ञाः कृतस्तस्य षष्टितन्त्रस्य ।

The well-known Commentator, Vācaspati Miśra, has been styled *sarvatāntro-svatāntro* on account of his mastery over all departments of studies. '*Tantravārttika*' is the name of a work on *Mīmāṃsā*. The *Naiyāyikas* have also used this word in the sense of *Sāstra* (cf. *तन्त्राधिकारणाद्युपगमसंस्थितिः सिद्धान्तः*—*Nyāya-sūtra* 1.1.26.). Treatises on grammar are sometimes designated as *Tantra* (सूत्राणां सानुवन्ताणां भाष्याणां च प्रणेतृभिः ।—*Vākyapadiya*). *Kātantra* is the popular name of *Kalāpa-Vyākaraṇa*.

Vaiṣṇava-Tantra and *Bauddha-Tantra*.¹ Viewed from the standpoint of *ācāras*, the *Tantras* fall under two broad classes: one in full agreement with the Vedic line of rituals (*śamayācāra*) and the other based on the *Kaulācāra*.

Kashmir and Southern India seem to have been two great centres of Tāntric culture; the former is famous for its 64 *Tantras*² and the latter for its *siddhāntāgamas* which are twenty-eight in number. Both the schools rest upon the three fundamental principles (*Trika-siddhānta*), viz., *pati-pāśu-pāśa* and *Śiva-śakti-bindu*, respectively; and have practically given expression to the same theme—the age-long yearnings of the human heart.

Tāntricism found much favour in different parts of India. Tāntric rites and mode of worship are still to be largely found in Mahārāṣṭra and Mithilā (*maithilaiḥ kavalīkṛtā*).

A few words are required to be said about Kashmir, its contribution to the *Tantras* and the long line of Tāntric teachers it produced.³ To *yogins* and religious devotees the Himalayas, justly described by Kālidāsa as *devatātmā* (i.e., a positive deity), have been the most suitable place for meditation from time immemorial. Heaven only knows how this long range of mountains stretching over the whole of northern India came to be called *siddhabhūmi* or the abode of gods and

¹ A number of Buddhist *Tantras* has been brought to light (Demchog Tantra, Śrī-Cakrasambhāra, etc.).

² Śaṅkara has referred to these in his *Anandalaharī* :—

चतुःषष्ट्या तन्त्रैः सकलमभिसन्धाय भुङ्क्ते स्थितस्तत्तत्सिद्धिप्रसवपरतन्त्रैः पशुपतिः ।
पुनस्तन्निर्वन्धादखिलपुरुषार्थैकघटनास्त्वतन्त्रं ते तन्त्रं चितितत्त्वमवातीतरदिदम् ॥

The *Sivatattvaratnākara-Tantra* has enumerated the *Siddhāntāgamas* :—

कामिकाद्या वातुलान्ताः शिविनीक्ताः शिवागमाः ।
सिद्धान्ता इति विज्ञेया उपमेदसमन्विताः ॥

Lakṣmīdhara in his commentary on the *Saundaryalaharī* has mentioned the names of 64 *Tantras* as given in the *Catuhṣatī*.

³ The *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* has given an elaborate description of Kashmir as a great seat of Śiva and Śakti worship.

demigods. Tradition goes that the secluded caves of the Himalayas have been and are still providing shelter to many *sādhus* who, indifferent to all earthly enjoyments and regardless of all physical sufferings, remain absorbed in calm meditation for countless number of years. A portion of this mountain, not accessible to ordinary people, goes by the name of Kailāsa—a fabulous place of eternal beauty and joy. Here under the shade of *Kalpa*-tree the Supreme God of Learning is said to have narrated all the *śāstras* to his divine spouse (*Śakti* or *Pārvatī*).

Kashmir, the so-called 'paradise of the earth,' is the western part of the Himalayas. The natural beauty of Kashmir is so serene and imposing that one will be easily inclined to describe it as the fittest place for practising *yoga*. For many and weighty reasons this mountainous region might be held to be the birthplace of the *Tantras*. The temple at Nandiksetra and the image of Śāradā are among the noteworthy things of Kashmir.

That there was a great and long-continued cultivation of the *Tantras* at Kashmir is clearly borne out by the numerous Kashmirian *Tantras* which date from the eighth century A.D. It was in this holy land that a host of Tāntric teachers like Vasugupta, Somānanda, Utpaladeva, Abhinavagupta, Kṣemarāja and others contributed to the evolution of a huge Tāntric literature. Śaivāgama and particularly the *Pratyabhijñā* system of philosophy has been the invaluable outcome of their Tāntric culture. Just as the great Śaṅkara built up the grand edifice of non-dualism on the foundation provided by the Upaniṣads, the Brahmasūtras and the Bhagavad Gītā, so the *āgamikas* of Kashmir tried in their own way to set up a new school of *advaita* philosophy, viz. *Sivadvaitavāda*, on the materials supplied by the *Tantras* or *Saivāgamas*. Both these phases of *advaita* schools have survived the severe test of time and adverse criticism.

Bengal has also contributed its quota to the popularisation

and diffusion of Tāntric culture. The *Āgamatattvavilāsa* of Raghunātha, the *Tārārahasya* of Brahmānanda, the *Syāmārahasya* and *Śrītattvacintāmaṇi* of Pūrṇānanda, the *Tantrasāra* of Kṛṣṇānanda Āgamavāgiśa, the *Sarvollāsa* of Sarvānanda and the *Tārārahasyavṛtti* of Saṅkarāryya (or Saṅkarācāryya) are among the important Tāntric works that originated in Bengal. The influence which the Tāntric rituals and *sādhana* exercised over the religious life of Bengal is still clearly visible in many places. The Tāntric forms of *dīkṣā* and worship have been in vogue in Bengal from a long time. Kālī and her different manifestations are daily worshipped by the majority of Bengali Hindus as their household deity. Bengal is also proud of having produced a long line of Tāntric saints in the persons of Sarvānanda,¹ Pūrṇānanda, Brahmānanda, Rāmaprasād, Kamalākānta and others. The devotional songs of Rāmaprasād and Kamalākānta have been a source of great inspiration to the religious mind of Bengal.

The *Tantras*, as we have said before, have preserved a system of religious practice which has come down to us as the offshoot of a very ancient religion. The *Tantras* as well as the Tāntrikas have tried to prove that the form of worship incorporated in the *Tantras* has its origin in the Vedic rituals.² The organic relationship between the Vedic and Tāntric rituals has been clearly brought out by the Kulārṇava on the evidence of a number of Vedic passages (*madhu vātā ṛtāyate ; abadhnan puruṣam paśum*) the recital of which forms an important

¹ Sarvānanda and Pūrṇānanda of Mehār (in the district of Comilla) are said to have visualised the Divine Mother with her ten manifestations (*daśa mahāvidyā*).

² मथित्वा ज्ञानदण्डेन वेदागमसहायैवम् ।

सारज्ञेन मया देवि ! कुलधर्मः समुद्धृतः ॥

—Kulārṇava, II. 10.

तस्माद् वेदात्मकं शास्त्रं विद्धि कौलात्मकं प्रिये ।

—*op. cit.*, II. 85.

function of *kulācāra*. The practice of uttering the Vedic hymns,¹ specially at the time of purifying the *pañcatattva*, is a feature that goes to show the affiliation and adjustment of the Tāntric rites to the Vedic rituals.

On the strength of the statement of Hārīta, the well-known commentator Kullūka Bhaṭṭa has referred to a twofold division of *śruti*, namely, *Vaidikī* and *Tāntrikī*.² What we now call 'Tāntric religion' is not really a departure from the ancient religion of the country, but only a homogeneous product not essentially conflicting with the Vedic ritualism. That Tantricism is one of the many phases of ancient religion cannot be doubted in the least. Though the age of the present *Tantra* literature cannot be pushed back to a much earlier date, it is almost incontestable that the Tāntric religion has been current in the land from a remote period of the history of Indian religion.

The *Tantras* have nowhere attempted to disgrace the Vedic religion by ignoring the authority of the Vedas, nor have they entirely stood detached from the same in their broad principles of religion and metaphysics.³ They have, however, subscribed

¹ वैदिकैस्तान्त्रिकैर्मन्त्रैस्तत्त्वादीन् शोधयेत् कलौ ।

—Kāmākhyā-Tantra.

² यदाह हारीतः—श्रुतिस्तु द्विविधा वैदिकी तान्त्रिकी च—

—under Manu, II. 1.

³ On the strength of the facts that Rudra figures as a deity in the Ṛgveda and that there is in the same work a particular section (*rudrādhyāya*) devoted to the glorification of Rudra, the *Mrgendra Tantra* has tried to prove positively that the *Tantras* do not run counter to the Vedas but rather come directly under their jurisdiction :—

Of. वेदेऽस्ति संहिता रौद्री वाचा रुद्रश्च देवता ।

Besides these, there are other passages in the Vedic literature which directly refer to the prominent Tāntric deities.

चाम्बकं यजामहे सुगन्धिं पुष्टिवर्धनम् ।

This *mantra* is used by the Tāntrikas at the time of purifying the fish.

‘शिवो नामासि स्वधिति स्ते’ । —Yajurveda.

‘इमा रुद्राय तपसे कपर्दिने’ । —Ṛgveda, I. 114. 1.

‘काली कराली च मनोजवा च सुलोहिता या च सुधूमवर्णा’ । —Mundakopaniṣad.

‘उमां हेमवतीम्’ —Kenopaniṣad,

to the view that *kulācāra* or Tāntric rites are more fruitful or efficacious in the *Kali* age than the Vedic rituals. This assumption is not wholly without foundation. Truth to tell, the performance of the Vedic rites had long fallen into disrepute, and the *Paurāṇic* and *Tāntric* rites became more and more popular on account of their being better suited to the peculiar temperament of the people at large. The oft-quoted dictum *kalāvāgama-sammataḥ*¹ is in full accord with this state of mentality.

So far as the ritualistic side is concerned, the Tāntric religion runs parallel to that of the *Smṛti*, and consequently comes directly under the *karmakāṇḍa* or Vedic rituals. But while emphasis is thus laid on *karma* or ritualism, we should not shut our eyes to the supreme influence of *Brahmakāṇḍa* over the spiritual side or the mystic teaching of the *Tantras*.² The *Tantras* have formulated a philosophy which is also broad-based upon the solid rock of *Brahmavidyā* and has the same object in view as is held out by the Upaniṣads. There is a number of Upaniṣads where one will evidently find the philosophical background of *śakti-cult* which, as we all know, forms the fundamental theme of the so-called *śākta Tantras*. While the Muṇḍaka and Kena have only accidentally mentioned the names of *śakti*, namely, *Kālī karālī*³ and *Umā haimavatī*,⁴ the Dakṣiṇāmūrti-upaniṣad, Devyupaniṣad, Annapūrṇopaniṣad and the like have absolutely dealt with the divine power of *Śiva* and *Śakti*, emphasising the hidden importance of Tāntric mode of worship. How closely Tāntric interpretation of life is connected with that of the Upaniṣads will be evident from a passage of the *Kulārṇava*

¹ 'आगमोक्तविधानेन कलौ दिवान् यजेत् सुधीः'—Mahānirvāṇa. 'कृते श्रुत्युक्तमार्गं स्वात् वेतायां श्रुतिसम्भवः । ह्यपरे तु पुराणोक्तः कलावागमसम्मतः ॥—Tārāpradīpa and Kubjikātantra.

² तन्त्राणां श्रुतित्वाविशेषेऽपि मन्त्रादिश्रुतीनां कर्मकाण्डशेषत्वं तन्त्राणां तु ब्रह्मकाण्डशेषत्वमिति—

—Bhāskararāya.

³ Muṇḍaka, I. 2.

⁴ Kenopaniṣad, III. 25.

Tantra which is only a verbatim reproduction of a verse occurring in the *Mundakopaniṣad*.¹

The followers of Śrīvidyā have endeavoured to prove that the deity they worship is a goddess that was well-known even in the Vedic literature, namely, Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa, Tripuropaniṣad and Śāṅkhyāyana Āraṇyaka. The Paraśurāma-kalpasūtra which describes in detail the different aspects of Śrīvidyā-worship is said to be an elaboration of the Tripuropaniṣad. Bhāskara-rāya who wrote a commentary on the Tripuropaniṣad has alluded to this fact just in the beginning :—

श्रीशंख्यायनकल्पसूत्रविधिभिः कर्माणि ये कुर्वते
 येषां शाकल एव मन्त्रनिचयः कौषीतकं ब्राह्मणम् ।
 तैरारण्यकमन्त्रविततिर्या पठ्यते बह्वृचैः
 ऋग्भिः षोडशभिर्महोपनिषदं व्याचक्षहे तां वयम् ॥

A faint allusion to Śrīvidyā has been traced in the Śārīraka-bhāṣya of Śāṅkara (under Brahma-sūtras, 3. 4. 37-38) which has indirectly referred to the Tripurā-rahasya by mentioning the story of Samvarta (संवर्त्तप्रभृतीनां च नग्नचर्यादियोगादनपेक्षिताश्चमकर्मणामपि महायोगित्वं स्मर्यते इतिहासे). What Śāṅkara refers to above as *itihāsa* is the story to be found in the Tripurā-rahasya,² 4. 37.

भार्गवाङ्गिरसं त्वं मां जानीह्यवरजं गुरोः ।
 संवर्त्त इति विख्यातं त्रिलोक्यां प्रथितं गुणैः ॥

It will be, therefore, unfair to say that the *Tantras* unduly laid stress on *karma* to the utter denouncement of *jñāna*. The doctrine of *mukti* as advocated by the *Tantras* in general is, for instance, the same as that of the Vedānta. Just like the

¹ भिद्यते हृदयग्रन्थिच्छिद्यन्ते सर्वसंशयाः ।

क्षीयन्ते चास्य कर्माणि तस्मिन् दृष्टे परावरे ॥

—Mundaka, II. 2, and Kulārpaṇa, IX. 24.

² See Tripurārahasya, Ben. ed. (Introduction).

advaita school of Vedānta, the *Tantras* have always insisted upon the supreme importance of *jñāna*. Knowledge in its purest form is said to be the only way that leads to final emancipation. It has emphatically been stated that *mukti* is attainable only by *jñāna* and not by any other means.¹ *Mukti* is a state of everlasting bliss to which a *sādhaka* is entitled after the annihilation of his mortal frame.² The *Tantrarāja* has only voiced the eternal truth of the Upaniṣads (*na ca ṛunarāvartate*) when it says that *jīva* once liberated is not born again.³ Most of the *Tantras* have exalted the supremacy of *Brahma-jñāna* in unequivocal terms. The *Tantras* have recognised two kinds of knowledge: one derived from the *āgamas* (*āgamottha*) and the other obtained from spiritual experience (*vivekottha*). The *Rudrayāmala* says that a *sādhaka* (a Tāntric worshipper) becomes the same as Brahman through the help of *Brahma-jñāna* and that there is

¹ न वेदाध्ययनान्मुक्तिर्न शास्त्रपठनादपि ।

ज्ञानादेव हि मुक्तिः स्यान्नान्यथा वीरवन्दिते ॥

—Kulārṇava, I. 105.

² देहान्ते शाश्वती मुक्तिरिति शङ्करभाषितम् ।

—Kulārṇava.

शान्तिभिर्जायते ज्ञानं ज्ञानान्मोचमवाप्नुयात् ।

—Rudrayāmala.

आनन्दघनसन्दोहपरमात्मनि चाव्यये ।

जीवात्मनिलयो मोक्ष इति मे वस्तुतो मतिः ॥

—Śrītatvacintānāṇi.

There is slight difference regarding the conception of *mukti* between the Kashmirian and Southern Schools of *Tantras*; *mukti*, according to the former, is the attainment of *Śivatva*, i.e., to become veritably the same as Śiva Himself, and, according to the latter, a *mukta* or liberated soul attains equality with Śiva so far as unlimited power and knowledge are concerned.

एतदेव परा काष्ठा मोक्षाख्याणीर्विचारतः । —Ratnatraya.

अथानादिमत्तापितः सर्वज्ञत्वं सर्वविच्छिन्नः ।

पूर्वं व्यत्यासितस्याणोः पाशजालमपोहति ॥ —Mṛgendra-Tantra.

³ मुक्तास्तु जीवा न कदाप्याविर्भूयुः कुतश्चन ।

—Tantrarāja, 36, 57.

no self-elevating religion like *Brahma-jñāna*.¹ It is again stated in clear terms that the knowledge as to the identity of one's own self with Brahman is the direct means of liberation.²

Under the massive structure of external forms which the Tāntric religion unfolds before one's vision there flow the twin currents of *jñāna* and *bhakti*. The devotional aspect of Tāntric worship is too prominent to be overlooked. The mysticism of *yoga* which is said to have emanated from Dattātreya (an incarnation of Viṣṇu) has also found an extensive treatment in the *Tantras*.³ The object of *yoga*, as conceived by the Tāntrikas, is to visualise the Supreme Soul within the limitations of individual soul. Śaṅkara in his *Prapañcasāra* has clearly described *yoga* in consonance with the view of the Upaniṣads :—

करपादमुखादिविहीनमनारतदृश्यमनन्यगमात्मपदम् ।

यमिहात्मनि पश्यति तत्त्वविदस्तमिमं किल योगमिति ब्रुवते ॥

There is absolutely no difference between the Tāntric and the metaphysical conception of *yoga*.⁴ In the words of Śiva Himself the main object of the *Tantras* is to attain the unity of *jīva* with the Supreme Soul.⁵ The highest form

¹ साधको ब्रह्मरूपी स्याद् ब्रह्मज्ञानप्रसादतः ।

ब्रह्मज्ञानसमी धर्मी नान्यधर्मी विधीयते ॥—Rudrayāmala.

यज्ञज्ञानान्नापरं ज्ञानं तद् ब्रह्मेत्यवधारय ।—Gandharva-Tantra.

² जीवो ब्रह्मैव सम्पूर्णमिति ज्ञात्वा प्रमुच्यते ।—Mantramahodadhi.

ब्रह्म सत्यं जगन्मिथ्या जीवो ब्रह्मैव नापरः ।

Brahman and *Jīva* are one and the same :

जीवः शिवः शिवो जीवः स जीवः कैवलः शिवः ।—Kulārṇava, 9, 42.

³ Yoga is one of the seven topics that are generally dealt with by most of the *Tantras*. The seven topics are as follow : *mantra*, *nyāsa*, *pūjā*, *puraścaraṇa*, *stotra*, *homa* and *yoga* (*rahasya*). The *Tantras* in their philosophical outlook generally deal with four subjects, namely, *vidyā*, *kriyā*, *caryā*, and *yoga*. *Dhyāna*, *dhāraṇā*, *prāṇāyāma*, *samādhi*, *laya*, etc., as described in the Yoga system of Patañjali, have been mentioned in the *Tantras* as indispensable features of Tāntric Yoga, i. e., mystic ways adopted for the purpose of awakening of self (See *Prapañcasāra*, *paṭala*, 19.).

⁴ ऐक्यं जीवात्मनोराहुर्वीर्यं योगविशारदाः ।—Kulārṇava. IX. 30.

⁵ परात्मजीवयोरैक्यं मयात्र प्रतिपाद्यते ।—Gandharva-Tantra.

of *yoga* preached by the *Tantras* is to attain the power of awakening the *cit-śakti* so as to make her pass through the subtle spinal chord (*suṣumnā* nerve) in order to be ultimately united with *parama Śiva*.¹ The *Rṣis* like Agastya, Vasiṣṭha, Bharadvāja, Paraśurāma and others are said to have been adepts in Tāntric *yoga*.²

Guruvāda and *dīkṣā* have been a striking feature of Tāntric *sādhana*. The first thing a man should search after in his religious life is a *guru*. A *guru* is he who can uplift his disciple to a state of Pure Consciousness by dispelling the darkness of ignorance.³ Submission and service rendered to *guru* are regarded by the Tāntrikas as a necessary step towards the realisation of self.⁴ That a *sādhaka* cannot obtain final liberation from *samsāra* without the grace of *guru* has been repeatedly stated in the *Tantras*.⁵ *Dīkṣā* may be interpreted as a kind of infusion of spiritual power into the disciple—a mysterious rite whereby both the body and the mind of the disciple are purged of all impurities (*māyīya*, *kārmanā*, and *āṇava*). A disciple at the time of initiation is said to be the recipient of *Saivī-Śakti* through the medium of his *guru*. It has been stated with all boldness that a disciple is turned into all-knowing Śiva as

¹ The mysterious process of passing through the six *Cakras* has been narrated in detail in the *Āgamatattvavilāsa* and other *Tantras*

² Tradition goes that Ādinātha, Matsyendranātha and Gorakṣanātha of the famous Nātha sect were staunch advocates of Tāntric *Yoga*.

³ गुह्यन्दस्वस्वकारः स्वाद्गुह्यन्दस्तन्निरोधकः ।

अस्वकारनिरोधित्वाद् गुरुरित्यभिधीयते ॥

—Tantrārṇava.

⁴ सुक्तिदा गुरुवागेका विद्याः सर्वा विडम्बकाः ॥

—Kulārṇava, I. 107.

तथात्मज्ञानसंप्राप्तिः सद्गुरुप्राप्तिर्न विना ।

न कस्यापि भवेदेष्टा प्रतिष्ठा विश्वतोऽनिशम् ।

—Tantrarāja, 36. 70.

⁵ सन्नं गुरुलपाप्राप्तनेकं स्यात् सर्वसिद्धिदम् ।

—Kulārṇava, 15. 19.

यावन्न गुरुकारुण्यं तावत्तत्त्वकथा कृतः ।—*op. cit.*

soon as he is initiated by his *guru*.¹ To a *sādhaka* initiation in its Tāntric sense is a sort of instillation of secret power or a new birth (from the sacred womb of *Vāgīśvari*) sanctified by the force of *mantra*. *Dīkṣā* serves to manifest the pure vision and is thus ultimately accompanied by *mukti*.² The *Tantras* have described three kinds of *dīkṣā*, namely, *māntrī*, *śākṭeyī* and *sāmbhavī*.

The Tāntric religion is exceedingly popular and has got the largest number of followers in its fold. It is a catholic religion that does not take notice of the rigours of the Brahmanical caste distinctions. In the universal brotherhood of the Tāntric order the question of caste does not arise at all. The *Kulārṇava* has cited the authority of the Vedas³ (*sarvaṃ khalvidam brahma*) in order to show the absence of caste prejudices in *kulācāra* (specially in the so-called *Bhairavī-cakra*).

There was a time when Tāntric worship and rituals, mysticism and order, reached the countries lying far beyond the boundaries of India. Convincing evidence is available that Tantricism marched to far-off China and Tibet. In the long list of Tāntric *ācāras* there is one called *Cinācāra*⁴ the very name of which speaks of the religious connection of

¹ तीव्रशक्तिनिपातेन गुरुणा दीक्षितो यदा ।

सर्वज्ञः स शिवो यद्वत्..... ॥

—Kiraṇa-Tantra.

² दीक्षैव सोचदा पुंसां चिदभिव्यक्तिकारिणी ।

and तदेव हि विमुक्तोऽसौ यदाप्रातः शिवेच्छया ।

—Śaṭsāhasrikā.

³ वेदेऽपि स्थितमेवं हि सर्वं हि ब्रह्म चाब्रवीत् ।

—Kulārṇava, 8. 101.

⁴ Cinācāra is thus described in the *Brahmayāmala* :—

नाम शुद्धाद्यपेक्षास्ति न चासिद्धादिदूषणम् ।

सर्वदा पूजयेद्देवीमस्मातः कृतभोजनः ॥

महानिश्चयश्चोद्दिष्टे वलिं मन्त्रेण दापयेत् ।

स्त्रीविधौ नैव कर्त्तव्यौ विशेषात् पूजनं स्त्रियाः ॥

India with China. Tāntric rituals, specially the worship of Tārā with *pañcatattva*, seem to have found much favour with the Buddhist priests belonging to the school of Vajrayāna.

An account of the meeting of Buddha and Vasiṣṭha is also narrated by the Rudrayāmala and Brahmayāmala *Tantras*. Vasiṣṭha is said to have been a worshipper of Tārā. It is interesting to note that the revered sage, a staunch follower of the Vedic rituals, failed to propitiate his *iṣṭadevatā* for no other fault but his aversion to the ignoble practices whereby Tārā is generally worshipped. Vasiṣṭha was so much mortified by his failure that he went to the extent of pronouncing a severe curse upon the Mahāvidyā. Out of compassion to her devotee Tārā immediately appeared before him and asked him to proceed to China, the land of the Buddhists, so that he might have his object fulfilled there.¹ At last Vasiṣṭha came to realise his own mistake and lost no time in adapting himself to the ideal which he once denounced in abhorrence.²

PRABHATCHANDRA CHAKRAVARTI

¹ बौद्धदेशेऽयं देवदे महाचीने सदा व्रज ।

तव गत्वा महाभावं विलोक्य मत्पदाम्बुजम् ।

मत्कुलज्ञो महर्षे त्वं महासिद्धो भविष्यसि ॥

—Rudrayāmala, *paṭala* 17.

² How a great change came upon the religious life of Vasiṣṭha in the later period will be evident from the following verse which is popularly ascribed to his authorship.

‘ रे दर्भाः ! विरमन्तु हन्त तुलसि तद्वासनाप्युक्ता

अम्बैकादशि ! तुभ्यमञ्जलिरयं सन्धेः ! शिरस्यास्त्यताम् ।

आजन्मार्ज्जितसञ्चितातुलतपःसम्भारसम्भाविते

तारानामनि मोक्षधामनि मया न्यत्ताः समस्ताः क्रियाः । ’

REZA SHAH PAHLEVI

The life-story of Reza Shah Pahlevi who has found his way from a humble position to the throne of Persia presents a very interesting study. Not much is known of his family history : his pedigree is the pedigree of the sword, like Nadir Shah's. His extraordinary ability raised him from an ordinary soldier in the Persian army to the rank of an officer. When Syed Zia-ud-Din became the prime minister of Persia for a few months, he recognized the high qualities of Reza Khan then and made him the Minister of War. On the assumption of office as Minister of War, Reza Khan realised that it was impossible to improve the condition of the country unless it was provided with an efficient and well-equipped army. So he set himself to the task and working incessantly day and night he was able within a few months to create a well-organised and efficient army. The general condition of the country was so insecure before Reza Khan came into office, that people did not venture to come out to the streets after sun-set for fear of being attacked by robbers. It is said that while one night Reza Khan was driving in a carriage with one of his friends, he was attacked by a band of robbers, when a unique scene, characteristic of the general insecurity of the Qajar times, took place, in which His Excellency the Vezir-i-Jang (Minister of War) was fighting for his life with foot-pads in the capital of the realm. With great difficulty Reza Khan managed to arrest them and got them punished. Travellers in Persia were frequently molested by highwaymen. Reza Khan made travelling in Persia safe and secure by stationing his troops of Amniyeh or Militia in all the roads of the country.

The distant provinces and semi-independent nomadic tribes showed signs of rebellion against the Government. Once

Khazal, the Sheikh of Mohammerah became so powerful that he desired to throw off the allegiance to the Government and to become the King of Khuzistan. Reza Khan sent one of his ablest generals named Sartip Faizullah Khan Zahidi to bring him a prisoner. The general finding it impossible to overcome Khazal by force of arms, had recourse to a stratagem and one night invited Khazal and his sons to his own camp and thus managed to capture them. Khazal and his sons were brought to Tehran where they were imprisoned. After a short time, they regained their liberty on giving a promise that they would remain in Tehran for the rest of their lives. The fate of Khazal in being interned in the capital produced a salutary effect on other recalcitrant chiefs who thought it wise to submit to the authority of the Central Government. This added to the fame of Reza Khan as a military leader and he became the most popular person in Persia.

When the Cabinet resigned in October 1923, a new Cabinet was formed with Reza Khan as the Prime Minister. He was still the Minister of War and practically became the military dictator in Persia. During this time, the ex-Shah of the Qajar dynasty had been living in France, amusing himself quite unmindful of the eventful occurrences which took place in his own country. He turned a deaf ear to the appeals of his subjects to return to Persia. Only once he paid a short visit to his country, and after his departure for France in 1924, there was an agitation for deposing the worthless Shah Ahmed Qajar, and the popular opinion declared in unmistakable terms that the country could no longer tolerate the worthless king and petitions and representations poured forth from different provinces to Reza Khan inviting him to dethrone the useless Shah and establish a republican form of Government. Reza Khan could not accede to the request of the public as he considered a republican form of Government ill-suited to the country, being opposed to its traditions and popular sentiments. At last in October, 1925, the Mejlis made a declaration abolishing the sovereignty of the

Qajar dynasty and entrusting the provisional Government to Reza Khan until the form of Government was determined by a constitutional assembly. The Assembly met shortly and declared Reza Khan the Shah of Persia.

The achievements of Reza Shah as a King are numerous and many-sided. He has brought about important reforms of far-reaching consequences in all departments of public life and has been working hard for a complete regeneration of his country which he wants to see as one of the first-rate powers of the world.

Persia is no longer a priest-ridden country. He has freed the country from the influence of *Akhunds* or *Mullahs* who are now hardly to be seen. Only certified Mullahs are now allowed to put on Dastar (the distinctive head-dress of a Mullah); others have now to put on the *Pahlevi cap*, which has become the national head-dress. The majority of the people of Persia have quietly accepted the State restriction of Mullah-hood, as most of these worthy people were ignorant and opposed to progress. In some of the backward districts orthodoxy looks askance at these innovations, and grey-bearded farmers shook their heads and dolefully complained to me when I broached the subject that the present regime was good, "but it was a pity that the new Shah was *bi-din* (without religion)."

He has trained the army on modern lines of warfare and has introduced compulsory military service. This will revolutionise the Persian people. Raw country lads after two years in the army go back home with some education and considerable emancipation in ideas. Efficient military academies for the training of officers have been set up.

He has reorganised the whole police force and has placed guards in all the important towns to ensure elementary peace and order which were lacking previously.

He has re-codified the laws of Persia and has set up courts of justice on the modern plan, in place of the universally detested courts of the old-fashioned *Qazis*.

He has founded the National Bank of Persia (Bānk-i-Millī-i-Īrān) with Government reserves to back it and in this way has brought about a stabilisation of the finances of the country.

He has covered the country with a net-work of roads which are quite safe for modern motor traffic. Only a few years ago, not more than 500 motor cars could be seen in the whole of Persia. To-day, one can see about 70,000 motor cars running every day on the beautiful roads of Persia constructed during the reign of the present Shah. Persia is in bad need of a Trans-Persian Railway for a full and complete development of her economic resources. The scheme for the construction of such a railway had always been baffled by thick clouds of foreign intrigues. At last in 1928 Reza Shah entered into a contract with a German American Company for the construction of a line connecting the Caspian Sea with the Persian Gulf. This railway, when constructed, will play a very important part in the economic salvation of the country. In the construction of new roads and extension of railways, Reza Shah finds a high-road to progress. So he has been building roads and railways as fast as the financial resources of the country permit. About 4,400 miles of road are opening up places which could previously be traversed only by caravans.

He has constructed fine harbours, both on the Caspian Sea and on the Persian Gulf. The Bandar Pahlevi (formerly Port Anzeli, on the Caspian Sea) has already become an important centre of commerce for trading with Europe through Russia.

He has many schemes in contemplation for promoting the welfare and prosperity of his country. He has a scheme for the construction of a Navy and has called to his country Italian experts to teach the science of navigation to the Persians, who were a great military, but never a maritime, people.

The Government of Reza Shah has been sending students in increasing numbers every year to different European countries,

particularly to England, France, Germany and Italy, for training in European crafts and sciences as well as higher scholarship. Students are sent to France to specialize in military training and aviation, to Germany to specialize in science and aviation, to Italy for naval and marine instructions and to England for training in wireless and engineering. Rich families are encouraged to send students abroad and even girls are being sent abroad for learning medicine, hygiene and science.

To-day Persia is passing through a period of economic crisis which is principally due to an abnormal depreciation of the local money. The present Shah is wide awake to the situation and has adopted measures which are calculated to relieve the prevalent economic tension. As the depreciation of the Tuman¹ (the standard silver coin, about Rs. 2-4-0 Indian) is considered to be due to a fall in the price of silver, the Shah's Government has passed an Act prohibiting the import of silver into Persia. As the balance of trade is heavily against Persia on account of the fact that her exports are quite over-balanced by her imports, the Shah's Government has appointed a Commission to enquire into the articles imported into Persia and an import of a number of articles (mostly luxuries) has been forbidden except with the permission of the Commission. Also the Shah's Government has done a momentous work by entering into an agreement with the Imperial Bank of Persia (which was a British concern) by which the latter has given up its privileges of issuing Bank notes in consideration of a sum of of £20,00,000 being paid as compensation. These salutary measures adopted by the Government of Reza Shah Pehlavi backed by the waves of patriotism which are to-day running high throughout Persia, are hoped to save Persia from foreign exploitation. Proofs have been obtained that machinations are rife from interested quarters to bring confusion and disorder into Persia with a view to keep her perpetually under foreign

¹ At present the whole system of currency has been changed.

influence. The strong rule of the the Shah has up till now baffled these foreign machinations. But for the presence of a far-sighted and powerful ruler like Reza Shah on the throne of Persia, the tragic history of Afghanistan would have repeated itself in Persia.

The private life of the Shah, who if he liked could have indulged in all the luxuries, pomp and splendour which surrounded his predecessors, is a model of simplicity regularity and devotion to duty. He rises early at about 4 o'clock in the morning and after inspection of troops sits at the desk and works till about 12 o'clock, attending to public duties with whole-hearted attention and concentration. He then takes rest until 2-30 during which time he takes his lunch alone or sometimes with the Crown Prince. At about three, he sits again at the desk and receives ministers and executives and discusses with them the affairs of the State. He dines at seven in the manner of a happy household. His repast rarely exceeds three courses. Stately uniforms and gorgeous jewels are reserved for official occasions only. The every-day dress is a plain khaki military uniform. The Shah has no harem but he is passionately devoted to his family. Thus, his private life sets an ideal before his subjects to follow and emulate.

The greatness of Reza Shah consists in this : he is the man of the moment. He embodies in himself the aspirations of a revived Persia, conscious once again of its past glory, and hopeful for a glorious future. He has raised the hopes and the enthusiasm of his people in a way which no national leader can be said to have done in Persia within recent years. The wave of nationalism which now is looking back wistfully to the glories of Sasanian and Keianian times has been utilised by him—he is now at the crest of that wave. He has adopted the style of “Pehlavi,” a word which ushers in all the glories of ancient Iran when Persia fought on equal terms with Imperial Rome. It would be an interesting comparison—between Reza Shah and Mussolini. He has called his son Shahpur, a name

glorious in the annals of Persian kings. Above all, he has brought in a stable and efficient administration which compares very favourably with the complete inefficiency of the Qajars. No wonder that such a man will be a popular idol.

The destiny of Persia is now in the hands of a very able and powerful ruler under whose short rule Persia has made wonderful progress and if Destiny leaves him at the helm of affairs, Persia may hope in no distant future to take her place with the Powers in the fore-front in the present-day world. She was the builder of the first great world empire, and although she cannot aspire to rival her ancient political and military glory, a revived Persia can be looked forward to, continuing worthily the cultural traditions of the great periods of her history—Achaemenian, Sasanian and Safavi.

Zindeh bād Shāhanshāh-i-Pahlevī.

MOHAMMAD ISHAQUE.

THE REALISTIC ANALYSIS OF PERCEPTION¹

In discussing anything the first thing expected is a clear-cut definition of the subject intended for discussion. But in dealing with Realism, this demand cannot be fulfilled, and the reason for this is that Realism is not a body of systematic doctrines to which numbers of different philosophers can be found to have subscribed. The Realists for the most part content themselves with dealing with a number of isolated problems without even attempting to bring them into any rational connection with one another. Perhaps the only thing which is common to all realists and which justifies their designation as 'realists' is their Refutation of Idealism.

Besides the refutation of idealism there is another topic, on which most, if not all, of the modern realists have something or other to say. This is the 'Problem of Perception.' The analysis of perception, is in a sense, the starting-point of their philosophy—that is to say, of the *positive* part of it; and the reason is obvious. If, as their refutation of idealism proves, objects, in their opinion, are not to be resolved into the states of the knowing mind, the next thing that should engage their attention, is an account of the process by which the 'independent' things come to be related to the mind.

Realistic views of perception may be divided into three types, the first of which maintains the existence of three, the second, of two, and the third, of one element only in perception.

The Austrian philosopher Meinong may be taken as a typical representative of the first class. He distinguishes

¹ Read before the Logic and Metaphysics section at the Eighth Session of the Indian Philosophical Congress held at Mysore, 1932.

three elements in perception—(i) the act of perception, (ii) the content of perception and (iii) the object of perception, which correspond roughly to the three elements distinguished in perception by the ‘*Vedānta-paribhāṣā*,’ viz., ‘*pramātri-chaitanya*,’ ‘*pramāṇa-chaitanya*,’ and ‘*vishaya-chaitanya*,’ respectively. The similarity of the conception of the ‘act of perception’ with that of the ‘*pramātri-chaitanya*,’ is apt to seem a little doubtful at first; but their resemblance becomes obvious if we look a little below the surface. For, the ‘*pramātri-chaitanya*’ is an exact analogue of the Kantian conception of the ‘Synthetic unity of apperception,’ which is evident from the part the ‘*pramātri-chaitanya*’ has to play in the perception known as ‘*vishaya-gata*’ or ‘*jñeya-gata*’ *pratyaksha* (i. e., the perception of object as *object*) as distinguished from ‘*jñāna-gata pratyaksha*. The ‘synthetic unity of apperception’ is the correlate of the object, according to Kant; so also is the ‘*pramātri-chaitanya*’ in the *Vedānta*. If the object is to be perceived as an object, the ‘*pramātri-chaitanya*’ must be explicitly opposed to it; so also in Kant, the object can be perceived as an *object* at all only in distinction from the synthetic unity of apperception. But the ‘Synthetic unity of apperception’ is more an ‘act’ than a ‘fact,’ i. e., it is not as a *substance* but only *because of the synthesising function it has to perform*, that the ‘ego’ had importance with Kant. The same may be said of the Vedāntic conception of the ‘*pramātri-chaitanya*.’ Thus it is not far from the truth to trace a sort of resemblance between the *pramātri-chaitanya* and the ‘act of perception’ admitted by Meinong.

But there are important differences as well. Meinong thinks that in the perception of different objects the ‘act of perception’ remains the same, and it is only the ‘content of perception’ that changes, *e. g.*, in the perception of the ‘cow’ and in that of the ‘horse,’ Meinong will suppose that the same act that is capable of perceiving the ‘cow,’ is capable of perceiving the ‘horse’ as well, the difference lying in the

content only, the content in the one case being a cow-content, in the other a horse-content. But, according to the Vedāntic analysis, the '*pramātri-chaitanya*,' changes as well as the '*Vritti-chaitanya*,' with the change in the object of perception. For the '*pramātri-chaitanya*' is always determined (*upahita*) by the '*vritti*'-consciousness and thus, is dependent for its *form* (the *essence* of course being no other than *chaitanya*) directly on the '*vritti*,' and therefore indirectly on the object.

The superiority of the *Vedāntic* analysis to that given by Meinong, is evident from the fact, that Meinong's characterisation of the 'act of perception,' as remaining unaltered even if the object of perception changes, renders it a bare act of thought, divorced from all the characteristics which give it form, and therefore makes it an unthinkable something. It is psychologically impossible to distinguish in consciousness a thought which is not a thought with a definite content. Epistemologically also, one can be conscious of an act of perception only so far as it is distinguished from the object which is perceived through it.

There are differences regarding the conception of the content of perception as well. In the first place, as regards the origin of the '*vritti*' the Vedānta is explicit in stating that the '*vritti*' originates as a consequence of the mind going out of itself to the object and being modified in the form of the object (*Antahkaraṇaṃ chakshurādidivārā nirgatyā ghaṭādivishayadeśam gatvā ghaṭādivishayakāreṇa pariṇamate. Sa eva pariṇāmo vrittirityuchyate*). But Meinong is silent on the point. According to him the content of perception is altogether mental, and the object is something altogether external. On this theory it is difficult to perceive how the object can ever come into relation with the content, so as to enable the latter to take the form of the former. Thus Meinong's theory is open to all the defects that vitiate the 'representation,' etc., theories of Perception of Descartes, Locke and others. He ends by

tacitly assuming the possibility of the content being of the form of the object without bothering himself by entering into the 'how' of it. Another important difference follows from this difference between Meinong and the *Vedānta*. Past and future objects as well (*i. e.*, object of memory and anticipation respectively) may constitute the objects of perception, according to Meinong. But *primâ facie*, the *Vedāntin* cannot accept this for, in as much as, according to him, the mind must go out to the object in perception, it follows that the object must be a *present* one, *i. e.*, must belong to the same *time* as that when the perception takes place. The *Vedānta* itself anticipates Meinong's position and refutes it (*nanvevam svavrittisukhādismaraṇasyāpi sukhādyamśe pratyakshāpattiriti chet na...aḥam pūrvam sukhī ityādismritau ativyāptivāraṇāya vartamānatvaṃ viśaya-viśeṣaṇam deyaṃ*).

The *Vedāntic* analysis of perception should however, be dwelt on a little more at length in this connection, as the *Vedānta* furnishes the best type of the realistic analysis of perception in India. The *Vedāntic* analysis can best be studied in connection with that of Meinong, the latter having many points of similarity with the former, as has already been pointed out. Considered *a priori* also the *Vedānta* should find a place in the same class with Meinong, according to the standard of classification proposed in the present discussion, for it also is an upholder of the three-element theory of perception.

From the ultimate metaphysical point of view, the *Vedānta* admits the reality only of one all-pervading *Chaitanya*. But all determinate knowledge involves a stratification of this one *Chaitanya* into three determinate forms,—the *pramātri-chaitanya*, the *vritti-chaitanya*, and the *viśaya-chaitanya* (The suffix '*Chaitanya*,' by the way, at the end of each of the terms, serves as a constant reminder of the fact that they are in their metaphysical essence, nothing but '*Chaitanya*,' the only reality admitted by the *Vedānta*). However this distinction between

the '*pramātri-chaitanya*' and the '*vishaya-chaitanya*,' explains Vedāntic realism so far as determinate or empirical consciousness is concerned. These three—the '*pramātri-chaitanya*,' the '*vritti-chaitanya*' and the '*vishaya-chaitanya*,'—correspond roughly to Meinong's distinction of 'act of perception,' 'content of perception' and 'object of perception' respectively, as has already been shown. Now, what happens in perception is as follows. First of all there is the mind and there is the object independent of the mind. The mind goes out of itself to the object and takes the form of the object (योग्यवर्तमानविषयकत्वे सति प्रमाणचैतन्यस्य विषयचैतन्याभिन्नत्वम् इत्युक्तम्). This gives rise to the '*vritti*'. The perceiving subject also is determined as to the particular form it is to take, by the '*vritti*' (स्वाकाद-व्युपहितप्रमादचैतन्यसत्तातिरिक्तसत्ताकत्वाभावः). All three, the '*pramātā*,' the '*vritti*' and the '*vishaya*,' are then mingled together into a homogeneous whole. Then there is the perception of the object.

In their analysis of illusory perception they try to keep their realistic position intact, by bringing in their peculiar theory of an indescribable reality (अनिर्वचनीय-सत्ता). An illustration is necessary. The usual instance they give in the case of illusory perception when the 'nacre' is mistaken for 'silver.' The explanation offered is that, defects in the eye or in the adjustment of light, etc., cause the really existing nacre to be modified in the form of silver, owing to similarity between nacre and silver. Thus the object no longer continues to be nacre but becomes *silver* which also is not altogether unreal, though not of the same nature of reality as the nacre is. This peculiar reality is a kind of reality which is not real but apparent, i.e., a '*prātibhāsika satta*' as distinguished from a '*pāramārthika*' or '*vyāvahārika satta*' in the Vedāntic terminology. Thus instead of the *pramātā*, the '*vritti*' of the form of nacre, and the nacre, we have now the *pramātā*, the '*vritti*' of the form of the real-apparent-silver (पारमार्थिक प्रातिभासिक रजत) and the real-apparent-silver.

Everything else happens as in ordinary perception, and thus the perception of silver ensues. The silver also being ascribed a sort of reality, illusory perception also is quite in keeping with their realistic theory of perception; at the same time the illusory nature of the cognition is not explained away because the object of the perception is not ascribed a real reality but only an apparent one.

Two-element Theory of Perception.

Next we have to take into account the second class of thinkers, *viz.*, those who hold that only two elements are involved in perception. It has been urged with great force and clearness by Professor Alexander, who speaks of perception as a process in which the mind enjoys itself in compresence with an object.

The two elements involved are the mind and the physical object. Meinong's 'act' and 'content' are run together by these realists and expressed by the single word 'mind.' They do not regard the 'act' and the 'content' as two distinct elements, because they think that one and the same physical object determines both. (This analysis seems to bring the realistic analysis of perception into a closer connection with the Vedāntic one, because according to the Vedānta also, the object determines the form of the *vritti*, and the '*vritti*,'—which is thus indirectly the object,—again, determines the form of the '*pramātā*.' Of course, in making comparisons, it should always be remembered that analogy does not walk on all fours.) The physical object is at once the *stimulus* and the *content of the conscious act* (determines the *pramātā* as well as the '*vritti*' in the '*Vedāntic*' terminology. Their explanation is as follows: the physical object, when placed in a certain juxtaposition to the sensory organs, produces a stimulation of those organs. The stimulation is conveyed to the brain and enters into consciousness. The consciousness is then directed

to the physical object and thus the content of consciousness takes the form of the physical object. From the fact that the physical object determines the act it follows that the 'act' differs with the difference in the object. (This also distinguishes the theory from Meinong's according to whom the 'act' remains the same in all perceptions, and connects it with the *Vedānta*, according to which the form of the *pramātā* differs with the difference in the object, *e.g.*, the form of the *pramātā*, when the object of perception is the *parimāṇa* of the *ghaṭa* is different from the form of the *pramātā* when the object of perception is the *rūpa* of the '*ghaṭa*'). Thus the 'act' in the perception of 'red' will be quantitatively different from the 'act' in the perception of 'green.'

One-element Theory.

Next we have to take into consideration the account of perception given by those realists according to whom only one element is involved in perception. These realists are generally known as neo-realists. The designation neo-realist is rather ambiguous. It has been used by some writers to denote any modern realist—more usually, however, it has been applied to the particular class of thinkers we are now going to deal with. Throughout this discussion, the term will be used in this narrower sense.

Neo-realism in this sense, can best be studied in connection with realism in its oldest form. Descartes and Locke may be taken as the best exponents of the oldest type of realism. Both of them believed in the existence of a world of things independent of the mind and both of them believed that the independent world can be known through the medium of ideas, truth consisting in the correspondence of the idea with the thing, *i.e.*, both were 'representationists' with regard to the relation of the mind and the world,

Now, neo-realism is at one with old realism with regard to the first position, *viz.*, the belief in the existence of an independent world of things, but the two theories differ with regard to the other position, *viz.*, the knowability of the world through the medium of ideas. The neo-realists think that the object is directly *presented* to the mind when the latter comes to know the former, and is not *represented* to it through the medium of ideas, as older realists would have it.

The neo-realistic analysis of perception may be summed up in the single phrase 'immanence of the independent,' or what Perry terms as 'epistemological monism.' What the phrase means is simply this, that objects exist, independently of the knowing mind (independence) but they are *identical* with the perceptions of the mind when they are perceived. The object is not perceived *through something* which is other than itself. It itself is immanent in the mind, becomes itself the perception and thus makes its own perception of itself possible. This explains why these realists have been described as holding 'the one-element theory of perception.'

The explanation of the possibility of this immanence, they find in the peculiar way in which they construe the duality of mind and matter. The neo-realists think that the difference between mind and matter is simply a difference of organisation. Neither mind nor body is really simple—both are complexes capable of being analysed into more primitive terms. These primitive terms are neutral elements, in themselves they are neither mental nor physical. When considered in one relation they constitute mind, when in another, they constitute body. This view is best set forth by Ernst Mach in a little book (*Die Analyse der Empfindungen*). The elements of the physical and the psychical, according to this author, are the same. But while the physical studies one type of relationship, such as the relation of colour to the source of light, the psychological studies its peculiar relation to the *retina or nervous system*

of a sentient organism. The colour itself is neither physical nor psychological.

Ralph Barton Perry may be taken as the most well-known representative of the theory sketched here. This theory became generally recognised through the publication in 1912 of a co-operative volume by six American writers, Edwin B. Holt, Walter T. Marvin, William Pepperrell Montague, Ralph Barton Perry, Walter B. Pitkin and Edward Gleason Spaulding,—called the New Realism. All these writers agree in what has been described above as the definitive characteristic of neo-realism, *viz.*, the insistence on the identical presence of the object in knowledge. Neo-realism has English representatives also. Mr. Russell, the most formidable of realists in some of his writings, drifted towards this theory. Of course it is not possible to class him with any realist in particular, for he does not adhere to one single view throughout his philosophical career. It is impossible to do justice to all the phases in his philosophy in this short paper.

There is another type of realism, *viz.*, that represented by the Scottish School of Common Sense. This theory agrees with neo-realism in admitting a sort of real presentationism, so far at least as the primary qualities are concerned. The main difference is that the Scottish realists dogmatically asserted presentationism without offering any explanation as to how it could be possible in spite of the dualism of mind and matter with which they started. Though this theory has been receiving attention since only 1912, Perry traces the germ of the theory as far back as Hume. Perry thinks that Hume regarded things not only as possessing being independent of the mind, but *identical with perceptions when present to the mind*. For this view of his, he refers us to Hume's 'Treatise on Human Nature' (Selby-Bigge's edition, p. 207) and also to an article by W. P. Montague in the *Philosophical Review*, entitled 'A Neglected Point in Hume's Philosophy.'

Another analysis of perception has been offered, under the name of Critical Realism, by seven American professors—Drake, Lovejoy, Pratt, Rogers, Santayana, Sellars and Strong,—in a co-operative study entitled the “Essays in Critical Realism.”

The peculiarity of these thinkers consists in this that, unlike the other realists, they do not believe in the independently existing physical objects as constituting the data of perception. They must not, however, be supposed on this account to be following in the footsteps of the Idealists according to whom the data of perception are nothing but the states of the mind.

But if the datum is neither the physical object, nor the mental state of the perceiver, it follows that there must be a third term which is supposed by the Critical Realists to be the datum, and hence the analysis of these Realists makes perception involve three terms. Still these realists cannot be classed with Meinong because these views differ from Meinong's on a point of fundamental importance, *viz.*, that they do not believe in independently existing physical objects constituting the data of perception.

The datum of perception, according to the Critical Realists, is a ‘character-complex,’ or as Professor Santayana would express it, an ‘essence,’ which is not the object itself, nor any selection from the object, but in perception is supposed to be a characteristic of the object. What happens in perception is roughly as follows: when an object C comes into contact with a conscious organism A, it causes the appearance to A of certain character-complexes. These character-complexes are imagined by A to be out in the world. These constitute the data of perception. When these character-complexes are the actual characteristics of C, the perception is correct; when otherwise, the perception is erroneous. These character-complexes *have being* or subsistence only, but they do not *exist* in the same sense as physical objects do. Professor

Santayana speaks of these 'essences' much in the same way as Plato spoke of his Ideas. But in as much as in true perception these 'essences' are identical with the actual characteristics of the object, the Critical Realist, in holding these essences to be the data of perception, holds that in perception, they perceive a physical object, so far, at least, as its nature or 'what' is concerned. The object itself, however, he is forced to admit, always eludes the perceiver's grasp. All this, however, is falling back on the defects involved in the representationistic theories represented by Descartes and Locke.

Lastly, any account of realism remains incomplete, if at least a passing reference is not made to the *Vaibhāshika* and *Sautrāntika* Schools of Buddhism, and the Jainas. The *Vaibhāshika* analysis of perception resembles that of the naïve realists of the Scottish School of Commonsense in their acceptance of a real objective world independent of thought, together with their belief in *presentationism* in perception. But though the *Vaibhāshikas* agree with the natural dualists in holding that our knowledge of things is not *creation* but only *discovery*, still there is an important difference—a difference which is due to their atomistic metaphysics. The objects of perception, they say, are constituted by permanent atoms but the objects themselves are momentary. The atoms constitute the object on the occasion of the perception, but separate as soon as the perception ceases, and so the object also vanishes. But in spite of this apparent Berkeleianism, it is interesting to notice that they are far from holding that the *esse* of things is their *percipi*. Their peculiarity consists in their combination of Berkeleianism with natural dualism. Objects cease to exist the moment we cease to perceive, still it is not perception that makes them into objects.

The difference between the *Vaibhāshikas* and the *Sautrāntikas* is like that between Locke and the naïve realists. The *Sautrāntikas* agree with the *Vaibhāshikas* in admitting

the independent existence of the outer world. Only they deny the possibility of a direct perception of it. We have, they argue, mental presentations through which we infer the existence of external objects.

The Jainas give a detailed analysis of perception, into the technicalities of which it is impossible to enter here. In short, their analysis reveals the mediate character of perception, and also tells us that things are extra-mental realities. It is to be noted that unlike the western Realists who start from the independence of the external world and then go on to analyse how that world can be related to mind, the *Jainas* start from the empirical fact of perception and then at the end of their analysis are brought to the conclusion that an independent reality exists. The question how consciousness can be related to objects—a question which puzzles the Western mind so much, is dismissed by the Jainas as absurd.

TATINI DAS

Reviews

All My Youth—A Book of Poems—by Fredericka Blankner, Brentano's, New York, 1932, is a small volume of really beautiful poems, some of which first appeared in the *Calcutta Review*, by Miss Blankner who is a member of the Faculty of Vassar College and of the Royal University of Perugia. These pieces are arranged in four groups the first of which, comprising the largest number, relates to Italia with which she is closely associated as a student and interpreter of her literature and an appreciator of her arts. The last group, called "Quest of God," appeals to us strongly by its intense spiritual fervour. Miss Blankner is a gifted poet and handles with ease and ability a large variety of rhythms. She can express in simple yet well-chosen words her thoughts and emotions in a clear and straightforward manner and there is a subdued and chastened passion in some of her poems. Her sensitiveness to beauty is exquisite and she combines gracefully the pagan enjoyment of love and beauty with ascetic restraint. We have particularly enjoyed such pieces as Love Song, Presence, Invitation, Shadows, Desire, Guerdon, Marriage, Souvenir and Fiat and can recommend this little volume to all lovers of good poetry.

J. G. B.

Indian Problems (speeches by Lord Irwin), published by George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1932, 12s. 6d. net, is a representative and fairly complete selection of speeches made by Lord Irwin as Viceroy of India during 1926 to 1931, a critical period in Indian history, which will enable its readers to form a clear idea of his policy and attitude and of the fundamental principles by which he was guided.

The anonymous and brief editorial note explains the principle of selection, rejection and arrangement of the matter. While reasonably complaining of "want of space," which has necessitated exclusion of some speeches and from others, finally chosen, portions of "merely local or temporary interest," the editor has, however, succeeded in offering us as many as forty-four addresses delivered to representative

audiences on a large variety of momentous political, social, commercial, industrial and educational topics. The series is appropriately concluded with the very valuable Massey Lecture delivered by Lord Irwin, after his retirement from the Indian service, at Toronto University, in 1932, which in breadth of vision, cautious survey of recent tendencies and developments in India, sympathetic attitude towards the Indian struggle for self-determination and the legitimate demands of her peoples for fuller opportunities of unhampered self-expression and in the power of just appreciation of her ancient culture and civilisation as well as her shortcomings and difficulties, appears to us to be his best speech.

The editor has done well in rejecting merely chronological arrangement in favour of the less mechanical classification of the selected speeches with reference to the audiences addressed. Thus, all the nine addresses to the Indian Legislatures are brought together in Part I, those to the Chamber of Princes in Part III, his Convocation addresses in Part IV, addresses to important Clubs in Part VI and his Durbar addresses in Part VIII. Apart from giving compactness to his utterances, this has the additional advantage of showing a gradual development in his thoughts and ideas from the year 1926, when he was new to India, to the year 1931, when, as far as a short tenure of office permits, these were matured and to some extent modified in the light of greater and greater knowledge and intimate grasp of complex problems and situations.

For obvious reasons, the Indian Viceroyalty means a real and acute test of statesmanship and tactful administrative abilities demanding extraordinary skill in reconciling sharply conflicting ideals and interests and in holding the scales even between the clamorous claims of different communities striving for supremacy or, at least, the largest share of power, profits, responsible offices, and representation.

Lord Irwin's speeches, on the whole, impress us that behind them is a sincere personality inspired and actuated by true love for the vast masses of India and deeply concerned in the real welfare and happiness of all the people from the highest to the lowest. Earnest appeal for mutual understanding, mutual trust and co-operation for one common end, forms something like an ever-recurring refrain. Almost all the addresses are distinctly marked by a spirit of transparent sincerity of purpose, frankness, firmness combined with persuasiveness, and a burning eagerness to allay hostile or factious feelings whether of Indians or Europeans. Yet he never shrinks, when occasion or duty calls for it, from strong remarks or adverse criticism. He seldom indulges in oratorical flourishes, being always thoroughly practical, but some of these speeches are not deficient

in the quality of eloquent or artistic presentation. We cannot make extensive quotations but may refer our readers to pp. 68-72, 84, 92, 95, 97, 122, 144, 288 and 300. Similarly, for really *wise* utterances we may draw their attention to pp. 28, 29, 71, 103, 107, 113, 172-73, 250, 252, 257, 288-84, 287, 292, 297, 364 and 366-68. This, we realise, is a very unsatisfactory method but with the editor himself we plead "want of space."

Besides being a good administrator and a statesman with a long vision, Lord Irwin is a God-fearing man and he ends appealingly his "Farewell at Bombay," 1931, with the soul-touching words—"I can wish India nothing better," (than what the late Maharaja of Jaipur has done in the words inscribed on the column standing in front of the Viceroy's House in New Delhi) "and so I would say to you and to all those in this country that I have tried to serve, 'In your thinking, in your speaking, and in your doing, God be with you.'"

It seems that this Viceroy in almost all his addresses concentrates his attention on the regulating idea, which underlies all his important utterances, of reconciling by persuasion *extremist* views and opinions to the point of view and the practical action or line of policy adopted in very trying and complex circumstances by his government. Lord Irwin is ever willing to **explain** things to the entire satisfaction of the audience concerned and is seldom aggressive. He is oftener than not on the defensive in meeting somewhat hasty, onesided, unjust or even decidedly hostile criticism of Government policy and measures.

His speeches cover a wide range of subjects and interests among which, we may mention, the new policy of Government regarding the coming Reforms, Federation, Fiscal and financial relations of British India and the State Durbars, Indianisation, Overseas Indians and protection of their rights, Opium Policy, Railway Policy, Roads System, Agriculture, Policy of Protective Tariffs (specially about steel and textiles), Industrial development, Education (specially of Princes and Chiefs), suppression of traffic in women and children, Labour Disputes and improvement of internal administration.

In his educational speeches at Delhi, Aligarh, Benares, Rajkot and Dehra Dun he admirably dwells on the principal aim of education, the true function of a University, the value of education, the right type of patriotism and citizenship, need for a higher academic standard, employment of competent Indian agency, and love of reading and right choice of subjects and books.

J. G. E.

Sir Walter Scott To-day—Some Retrospective Essays and Studies, edited by Professor H. J. C. Grierson; LL.D., Litt.D., F.B.A. (Constable and Co., 10s. 6d.), is a very interesting and instructive volume of seven essays with an Introduction by the editor. It covers various aspects of Scott's prose works—especially of Scott as historian, antiquarian and historical novelist—with a view “to discover how, after a hundred years, these appeared to those who had some right to judge.” The editor's aim is also “to consider in retrospect his influence on the subsequent course of Literature, not his mere imitators, but his authentic successors,” such as “Manzoni, Balzac and Hugo and Flaubert and Pereda and Thackeray and Thomas Hardy,” “as he himself was the successor of Cervantes and Defoe and Fielding and Smollett.” He also defends Scott from the tendency of writers to depreciate Scott as a critic because of his failure “to discover the greatness of Shelley and Keats” and suggests that our estimate of Scott here should be based on *what he did*—“his Lives of the Novelists, his criticisms of *Emma* and of *Persuasion*” and finally shows (Introduction, xvi to xvii) the value of Scott's critical judgments.

In three of these essays—“Scott and Goethe,” “Scott and Cervantes,” “Scott and the ‘Comédie Humaine’”—very able and fruitful comparisons are made by the respective writers which considerably add to our knowledge of Scott and lead to a proper appreciation of his great achievement. “Sir Walter Scott as a Student of Tradition” and “Scott as a Mediævalist” cover allied yet different grounds and the last essay (by Mr. Hugh Walpole) on “The Historical Novel in England since Sir Walter Scott” is an illuminating survey containing an important discussion of what really constitutes an historical novel and why it has fallen of late into temporary disfavour. The first essay by Principal Rait of Glasgow called “Walter Scott and Thomas McCrie” is an elaborate and very ably written defence of Scott against the serious charge of his having been false to historic truth specially in his *Old Mortality*. The writer has here convincingly proved the contrary by going into important details with the scrupulousness of a real scholar, admitting, however, here and there, that Dr. McCrie “was able satisfactorily to challenge Scott” regarding one or two points. It is not possible for us to go into details and we must rest content with strongly recommending a careful study by all readers of Scott of this valuable contribution made by Principal Rait who concentrates himself specially on Dr. McCrie's “gravest charge” that “Scott had grossly misrepresented not merely Claverhouse and the Government, but also the Covenanters who fought at Drumclog and Bothwell Bridge.” It is admitted that if any party had a just reason for complaint against Scott, it was the moderate, and not the extreme, Presbyterians.

Professor Gundolf's essay on "Scott and Goethe" is not quite appreciative and the editor rightly notes that if it be true that "if one looks in Goethe's own work for traces of inspiration derived from Scott.....one will find nothing," it is equally true of Goethe's influence on Scott, for "German models" produced "very superficial effect" upon his work and he "very quickly outgrew the taste for German supernatural ballads and melodramatic plays."

Mr. Aubrey Bell in his "Scott and Cervantes" holds that "Scott may be said to have begun and ended with Cervantes" and points out even similarities between their lives to establish that these two are figures closely akin. "But above all," we are told, "Scott and Cervantes agree in their largeness of heart and their integral view of life and literature." It is further asserted that "Pereda derived from Scott the very inspiration which Scott had derived from Cervantes."

Professor R. K. Gordon (University of Alberta) institutes a comparison in detail between Scott and Balzac whom Professor Grierson considers to be "the greatest of Scott's *romantic* followers." Mention is made of Scott's popularity in France, of references to him and his works in the *Comédie Humaine* and in Balzac's letters, of Balzac's admiration for the Waverley novels and his sense of great rivalry with Scott, tempered with his acknowledgment of debt to the older writer; but points of difference are noted with equal care to prove that Balzac was never a "plodding imitator." Balzac did not think highly of most of Scott's heroines, for, to him, "Walter Scott is without passion." He felt also that Scott did not squarely face "the worst in human nature."

Scott's "worth in the fields of folk-lore, popular poetry and mediaeval romance" and the extent of his Scandinavian studies and degrees of his first-hand knowledge of Old Norse, are carefully presented in the next two essays by Mr. Louise Spence and Miss Edith Batho, respectively. The Fairy department of Folk-lore has, of course, been thoroughly explored by modern researches which were unknown in Scott's days and new knowledge of the subject acquired and from the "modern points of view Scott's methods" must be considered to be "manifestly open to question." Scott's fairy machinery is generally local and his preferences were more Teutonic than Celtic. As a mediaevalist Scott was anything but scholarly and he valued truth of general impression without showing eagerness for correctness of detail. He betrays also careless treatment of authorities and meagre acquaintance with the Icelandic sagas.

J. G. B.

Walls of Jericho, by J. Cecil Maby, B.Sc., A.R.C.S., F.R.A.S., (Heath Cranton, Ltd., London, 7s. 6d. net) is a thought-provoking, nay, challenging volume of outstanding merit which will powerfully appeal to all classes of readers interested in modern problems of life. Our attention is directed by the writer particularly to the three potent and all-pervasive factors of modern life—*viz.*, science, machinery and the popular press. He shows convincingly that these walls of modern Jericho are not unassailable as they are considered to be in certain quarters, that they surely are not as essential to progressive existence or permanent as they are sought to be made out by their partisans or champions—that they may be found, in the last analysis, to be rather hostile to true life. Thoroughly trained as a scientist, Mr. Maby impresses us in his serious utterances as a man instinctively artistic in nature and, by persuasion, deeply religious. Hence the main tendency of his thesis is to unfold the dangers to a harmonious development of man from the present-day antagonism of science and its product, machinery, to art and religion. Though his criticism is unsparingly rigorous it is not merely destructive, for, he ardently believes “that idealism may be lived as well as preached, according to the best traditions of English gentlemen, in application to modern life and industry.” His impartial attitude and catholicity of outlook are also evident from the remark (Introduction, ix)—“Within a given sphere of knowledge and a wide field of practical hygiene and utility, let us then accept with gratitude the labours of Western Science ; but outside that sphere, in matters of ethic and aesthetic—of the soul, that is to say—let us endeavour to recapture our ancient trust in man’s innate ethical conscience and aesthetic intuition.” “Science,” he rightly observes, “cannot analyse Mind any more than it can describe beauty or define what is God,” and “in science, there is found no legitimate place either for Beauty or Faith—all is Method.” And here is the danger signal. “As a culture-community, the West appears to be committing spiritual, if not physical, suicide by crediting a single aspect of life with preponderant importance.” The Western man “believes this Science to be a panacea” for all evils and “even where he does not preach mechanism, he lives it.” “It is high time, therefore,” the writer holds, “that he should cast away its degrading and idolatrous cult of science-adoration.” “More knowledge is the cure,” insist the avowed Modernists. “True, but what sort of knowledge ?” This, it must be admitted, is a thoroughly rational and pertinent question.

“Not only as philosophers, but as men, it is essential,” he cogently points out, “that we should realise that life attains complete fulfilment solely through a *duality*—the duality of Art and Science.” “My

attitude," he adds, "in these essays, therefore, consists in the attempted maintenance of a mean intellectual equilibrium, by virtue of a species of rapid oscillation betwixt two opposite poles—the antipodes of Art and Science."

The essays constituting the volume of only 175 pages, altogether five in number, are courageously and frankly outspoken but the author modestly confesses that they are "the gropings of an adolescent intellect, bemused by modern thought and practices." "Yet the problems, which troubled" him some years back when these essays were planned, "remain unsolved." Though each of these has an independent subject of its own, "the whole series is intended to constitute a single picture of modern tendencies, seen, so to say, 'in the round,' through the stereoscope of Art and Science."

The first—and the longest—essay, called "Progress: Culture or Civilisation," is "a critical, historical and sociological study, in which the future prospects of Western civilisation are openly discussed from the opposite viewpoints of Free-Will and Causality; with special reference to Oswald Spengler's concept of Destiny." It is in the form of a discussion of this subject by a number of persons at a meeting held for the purpose so that all points of view may be fairly represented. The object of the whole enquiry is "to decide in how far culture and civilisation are mutually exclusive, what is our own (apparent) destiny, and can such a 'destiny' be averted, and thus 'disproved,' by the future history of the West?" Dr. Spengler's *method*—called the artistic and analogical ('historical') or physiognomic—is accepted but not his conclusions and his work—*The Decline of the West*—is subjected to a destructive analysis. "A man of excellent *rationality* and immense *observation*" Dr. Spengler, according to this essay, "is not at heart a man of paramount *intuition*" and his idea of Destiny is, after all, "one of several possible ideas." He is also a fatalist. The Destiny idea is opposed "on double grounds: first, because it is harmful, paralysing and negative towards creative endeavour; second, because as child of analogical reasoning, it is an untrustworthy guide." Moreover, Dr. Spengler "has negated the special, god-like privilege of man—the right to think and act as an autonomous, creative being."

There is also an attempt in the course of this discussion "to evaluate both the great merits and demerits of Oswald Spengler's historical philosophy."

We cannot, however, within our space limits, propose even to give a summary of a somewhat elaborate discussion in which the writer has made extensive quotations in his support from a number of writers like A. N. Whitehead, Dr. Bucke, P. D. Ouspensky, Nietzsche, Count Keyser-

ling and others. "Our lives," it is concluded, "appear to consist of a main chain of causally interdependent events, punctuated at frequent intervals by determining and spontaneous 'free-willed' actions. Such actions are the hall-mark of the conscious and rational, as contrasted with the sub-conscious and instinctive, organism." It is shown that "*Reason* develops at the expense of *Instinct*, *Mechanism* at that of *Organism*, Science at that of *Art*, *Mathematics* at that of *History*, *Ratiocination* at that of *Intuition*, *Civilisation* at that of *Culture*." The present writer discerns in the history of the West indications of a "*spiritual* and metaphysical rebirth" and we quote the inspiring lines in which is embodied his vision of a glorious future—"Times are auspicious, times are crucial; there is a strange music and a sound of many voices in the air, and we apprehend it as a vague, yet not uncertain, adumbration of some great intellectual synthesis, already imminent."

The next essay on "Faith and What It Implies" sets out "certain ideas in regard to the apparent antagonism betwixt Science and Religion." He notices everywhere a loss or at least weakening of faith and to him "a simple faith is often both finer and more powerful than a complex uncertainty." Human beings necessarily perceive antinomy in the world "because Nature so orders our perceptions" and it is erroneous to assume that "religion derives from morals rather than morals from an innate religion." To his mind, "the fundamental problems of Mind, God and Existence remain precisely the same to-day as they were in the time of the ancient Hindu metaphysicians." His simple remedy is, in the words of Jacob Böhme (quoted by him), "Walk contrary to the world in all things."

In the fourth essay—*A Bastard Philosophy*—writing "as an amateur and an everyday philosopher," he criticises the modern "furore about Space and Time, Relativity and the Quantum theory, nebulæ, stars and atoms which marks the arrival of an-unmistakable epoch of *astrophysical philosophy*" and his quarrel here is mainly with the current mode of thought supported by Mr. J. W. Sullivan. He asks in despair—"Must Europe also suffer from that American disease, the doctrine of Quantity as opposed to Quality?" In the second part of this essay he points out the insurmountable difficulty experienced by the layman regarding the real meaning of such concepts as "four-dimensional continuum, point events, a finite universe, curved space, used by popular expositors of Relativity Theory. His simple conclusion is that "the universe may be unbounded and infinite after all!"

The other two essays are more practical in nature and relate to "The Kinema, Potential and Actual" (a subject of the utmost importance to-day)

and "Idols, Old and New." He gives an interesting short history of the Kinematograph and indicates the æsthetic-moral effects produced by it on the public taste and adds that "the trouble is not so much that the Kinema shows us life as it is, as that it alights, like a carrion crow, upon the most putrid carcases in sight" and he draws our attention to the aspects of motion-picture craft which are ethically dangerous, specially to that feature which "tends to place Sex before Art" and to situations and details "melo-dramatic beyond decency or reality." His second main criticism is against *lack of continuity*.

The last essay of all is more vigorous and unsparing in its criticism of the modern craze for excitements and sensationalism. It is based on the principle that "an analysis of a nation's culture may be derived from the anthropomorphic characteristics of its deities." He freely admits that the last hundred years has been an era of immense scientific and intellectual activity and epoch-making discoveries but will not maintain that the age can be applauded for remarkable ethical progress. He next surveys "the general characteristics of our day" and roundly denounces "the merrily swirling whirlpool of fast-living, gambling, discontented modernism." Reference is made to contemporary leaders of thought, theologians, men of science, writers and novelists, to the enormous annual output in literature "of which the chief aim is to pander to a sensual, shallow, voluptuous and idle public"—persisting in encouraging mere sordid realism at the expense of true, imaginative fiction—Art, that is." "Ours is," he holds, "a riotous, fast-moving, restless, and in some ways, a farcical age." He enumerates under *fourteen* different heads, what he considers to be the principal signs of the times—such as world-wide controversy of science versus religion, capital versus labour; strikes, tariffs, international competition; love of speed-records, bigness, amusements craze, motion-pictures, athletic sports, sex-perversion; the disappearance of home-life in favour of travel, hotels, restaurants; idolatry of "speed-kings," business magnates and "screen-stars;" inversion of values and increase of divorce. He refers to the degeneration of what otherwise could be of immense value and benefit to mankind, *viz.*, wireless, broadcasting, automobiles, kinematograph, the powerful Daily Press. "All which is made with a view to economic gain as principal goal is sure to be of poor or mediocre artistic value." "The acclamation of the mere dare-devil" is an idolatry. Mere sensation-mongers possess no healthy interest in life. The ridiculous fuss made over Miss Amy Johnson, Major Seagrave, Shamrock V, fabulous salaries paid to Messrs. Chevalier, Lloyd, Gilbert, Novarro or Misses Pola Negri, Greta Garbo—are distinctly offensive in his eyes.

“Because of the sufficient and weighty fact,” he adds in justification or at least explanation of his own attitude and object, “that certain modern tendencies appear to me, as they do to a host of others, to drifting us towards a crisis, perhaps the ultimate doom of our Civilisation, I have been at pains to indite these articles.”

J. G. B.

Success in Business or Practical Business Hints, by A. C. Ghose, M.A.S., M.R.A.S., with a foreword by Sir R. N. Mookherjee, Kt., K.C.I.E., K.C.V.O., 1930, pp. 120.

This brochure aims at providing hints to novices who find themselves perplexed by any complexes in their business routine. Assuming that a businessman might be a trader, merchant, or speculator or managing director or an industrialist or business manager, the author offers useful suggestions to them by giving practical hints and directions for a successful pursuit of their business. Most of these aphorisms and maxims are taken from authoritative sources. Sayings of experienced businessmen and well-known thinkers of the calibre of Andrew Carnegie, Emerson, Lord Bacon, and Benjamin Franklin will be of undoubted value to the beginners. Those who seek a new career different from teaching, law, or clericalism would do well to have a glance at this little brochure which is full of commonsense hints studded on every page of this brochure.

A more systematic arrangement of the Essays would have given continuity to the author's argument. At any rate it would have sustained the energy and enthusiasm of the reader. When business Institutes are not to be had in plenty in this country such brochures as these do fill in the gap. Men already in the business line would also stand to be benefited by glancing through these pages. The essays entitled “How success can be achieved,” “Right habits” and “Key to getting money” are full of sound sense. The essay on some simple facts about Industries is too old-fashioned and could safely have been omitted or the information could have been revised and brought up to date. But as the author rightly remarks success in business depends on planning. One can quote his own couplet which runs as follows:—

“Plan your work thoroughly, than
Thoroughly work your Plan.”

This sums up the entire matter of his subject.

B. RAMACHANDRA RAU

Ourselfes

THE LATE MR. HASAN IMAM

We record with sincere grief our sense of loss at the death at his Patna residence on April 19, 1933, of Mr. Hasan Imam, younger brother of the late Sir Ali Imam and a distinguished member of the well-known Neora family of the Province of Bihar. He was renowned as a great lawyer and practised as a barrister both in the High Courts of Patna and Calcutta rising to high eminence in his profession and was elevated to the position of a Judge of the Calcutta High Court in 1911 from which he retired in 1916. He became President of the Indian National Congress in 1918 when in a special session the Montagu-Chelmsford Report on Indian Reforms was discussed and was selected as a delegate to the London Conference on the Turkish Peace Treaty in 1921 and served in 1923 as India's representative at the League of Nations.

He won the love and esteem of all communities by his high intellectual and professional attainments, his noble character, large sympathies and affable manners.

We offer our cordial sympathy to his bereaved family.

*

*

*

A NEW PH.D.

Mr. Krishnabinod Saha, M.A., has been admitted to the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy on his theses entitled—

(1) "Economics of Rural Bengal," (2) "Rent in relation to Price" and (3) "Theory of Barter and that of Buying and Selling."

*

*

*

UNIVERSITY READERSHIP LECTURE.

The Syndicate have recommended to the Senate that Mr. K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar, be appointed a Reader of this University to deliver a course of lectures on "Indian Cameralism" on a honorarium of Rs. 1,000.

*

*

*

THREE NEW M.D.'S.

Mr. Dhirendranath Ray, M.B., Mr. Bidhubhushan Bhattacharyya, M.B., and Mr. Subodhchandra Lahiri, M.B., have been admitted to the Degree of Doctor of Medicine.

*

*

*

GHOSE TRAVELLING FELLOWSHIPS FOR 1933-34.

The Ghose Travelling Fellowships available for 1933-34 have been awarded on the usual conditions to the undermentioned scholars to enable them to prosecute advanced study and research in accordance with the scheme outlined in their applications and noted against their names :—

In Literary Subjects.

Name.	Subject of Research.
Prof. Pramathanath Banerjea, M.A., D.Sc., Barrister-at-Law, Minto Professor of Economics.	Recent Advance in the Theory and Practice of Public Finance.

In Scientific Subjects.

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. Bidhubhushan Ray, Esq., D.Sc.,
University Lecturer in Physics. | X-rays, structure of atom; High Vacuum technique.
The scholar will also visit the following laboratories :—(1) Bragg's Laboratory (England); (2) Upsala Laboratory; (3) Groningen Laboratory and (4) Copenhagen Laboratory. |
|--|--|

2. Harischandra Sinha, Esq., M.Sc.,
Ph.D., University Lecturer in
Commerce.

Statistics, theoretical and applied. The scholar will study the method of teaching Statistics in English and Continental Universities and in particular in London School of Economics through Mr. R. N. Gilchrist, in Cambridge and Oxford Universities through Dr. J. C. Sinha ; he will have practical training in the Statistical Sections of Lloyds Bank and Midland Bank, London, through Mr. R. N. Bucklet (Dist. Manager for India, Lloyds Bank) and Mr. S. N. Pochkhanwallah (Managing Director, Central Bank). He expects to be able to carry on advanced theoretical investigation in statistics in the Biometric Laboratory of Prof. Karl Pearson through Prof. P. C. Mahalanobis.

An additional Fellowship of the value of Rs. 2,500 has been created for the year 1932-33 out of the accumulated interest of the Fund and the Fellowship has been awarded to Dr. J. C. Gupta, M.B., the subject of the research being 'Study of Cardio-Pathology in Europe and England' ; 3 months, Gottingen, Physiolog. Institute under Prof. Rein ; 3 months in Leipzig, Medizinische Klinik under Prof. Rochrein ; 3 months in Bad-Nauheim, Kerckhoffs Institute under Prof. E. Koch : 3 months in the Cordiologial Institute, London, under Sir Thomas Lewis.

*

*

*

THE INTER-UNIVERSITY BOARD, INDIA.

India Institute of Die Deutsche Akademie offers the following Stipends to Indian Scholars for the Academic Year of 1933-1934.

" On behalf of India Institute of Die Deutsche Akademie we wish to announce that the following stipends in institutions of higher learning in Germany, will be available for Indian Scholars (male or female) of outstanding ability, for the academic year of 1933-34.

1. Berlin : An Indian physician will have the opportunity of securing practical training in *St. Hedwig's Hospital in Berlin*. He will be taken as a Volunteer Assistant. The

candidate must be a graduate of a Medical College (M. B.) with hospital experience in India. He will receive free board with the hospital staff.

2. Freiberg (Saxony) : One stipend at the *Mining University of Freiberg* consisting of free tuition, free lunch in the Student's Mess (Mittagstisch in Mensa Akademia). The stipend-holder will have the special opportunity of securing lodging including breakfast and supper for RM. 60 (sixty marks) per month.

3. Hamburg : One stipend at the University of *Hamburg* consisting of free tuition and a pocket-money of RM. 30 (thirty marks) per month. The candidate will be given free private coaching in the German language.

4. Hoehnheim (Wurttemberg) : One stipend at the Agricultural University of Hoehnheim, consisting of free tuition and free lodging.

5. Jena : One stipend at the University of Jena, entitling the scholar to receive free tuition at the famous University Institute for Applied Optics and Microscopy (Institute fur angewandte Optik und wissenschaftliche Mikroskopie) and a pocket-money of RM. 30 (thirty marks) per month. Only the most highly qualified students, possessing qualifications for specialising in this branch of study, should apply.

These stipends are tenable provisionally for two academic semesters only. The first semester begins early in November, 1933, and the second semester ends in July 1934.

Applicants for these stipends must be graduates of recognised Indian Universities, preferably scholars possessing research experience. Applications from non-graduates will be given consideration only if they have recognised literary or scientific achievements to their credit. Every applicant must possess good health and supply at least two recommendations from professors or Indian public men, about his scholarship and character. *It is desired that the applicant should have fair*

knowledge of the German language :--as all academic work in Germany is carried on through the medium of German.

No application will be given consideration, unless it is guaranteed for by some prominent professor or an otherwise well known Indian public man that the applicant is really earnest about his application and will certainly come to Germany before the 1st of September, 1933 ; if a stipend is offered to him.

It is imperative that a stipend-holder should arrive at Munich by the 1st of September and stay in the city at his own cost till the academic year begins in November, devoting these weeks to intensive study of German language in the German language courses for foreigners at the University of Munich, where he will be exempted from tuition-fees. It is however presupposed that an applicant for a stipend possesses working knowledge of German. We are forced to take this measure, because a student not having adequate knowledge of German, before beginning his academic work fails to get the benefit of his attending the University and often loses six months time.

We want to make it clear that apart from the stipend, the stipend-holder must be prepared to spend at least RM. 100 per month for the necessary expenses not included in the different stipends.

All applications should reach India Institute of Die Deutsche Akademie before the 15th of April, 1933. A special committee of experts will select the successful candidates who will be promptly notified of the decision. Selection of successful candidates will be determined solely by the academic qualifications of applicants. Certificates and testimonials of applicants will not be returned.

All applications should be directly sent to the following address :

Dr. Franz Thierfelder,

Hon. Secretary, India Institute of Die Deutsche Akademie, ' Maximilianeum,' Munich (Germany).

North German Lloyd Company offers a reduction of 10% on the fare for single trip in cabin class or second class for the Indian students of the Deutsche Akademie coming to Germany or returning to India from Germany, provided they travel during the "off-season," i.e. from Europe during April to July and from Colombo from July to January. Detailed information on this subject can be secured from the representative of North German Lloyd at Colombo, c/o. the Office Hanseatic Trading Company, Colombo, Ceylon.

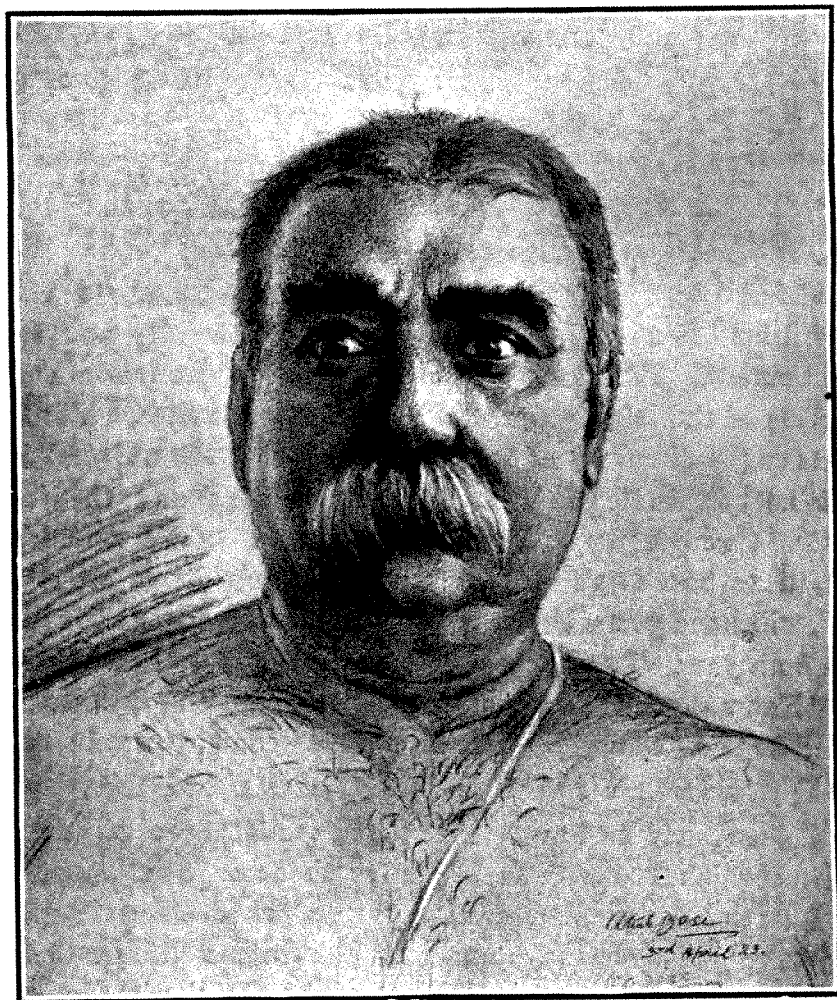
We are glad to report to the public that the University of Konigsberg has created facilities for an Indian student who is willing to teach Hindi at the University. Since the Konigsberg University authorities want the student to take up his work by the 1st of May, 1933, the candidate had to be selected from the Indian students already studying in Germany.

In co-operation with Academy of Fine Arts of Munich we succeeded in granting facilities to an Indian Sculptor, Mr. Sudhir R. Khastgir of Dacca, who will begin his studies at the Academy in April next."

*

*

*



BENGAL TIGER

THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

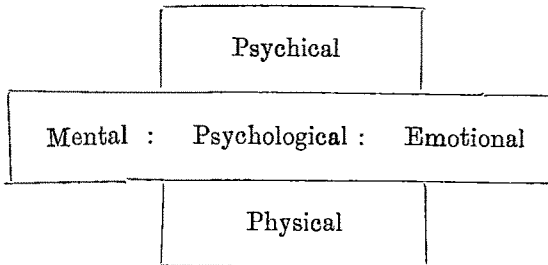
JUNE, 1933

SOME SYNTHETICAL TRENDS IN SCIENCE

Science is the application of the human mind to the acquisition of exact knowledge concerning humanity and its environment. From this exercise of the objective-mental function of the mind, science bifurcates towards such achievements as the discovery of "pure science" that the universe is (or is not) expanding in almost indecent haste; and the invention, through "applied science," of an automatic machine that, in response to a few button-pushings giving it certain data, will hand you a summary of your character and thus save both yourself and the psycho-analysts a lot of trouble—for "Know thyself" is a fusty Grecian maxim, and it is much easier to let other persons or things know yourself for you!

Science may be broadly classified as: (1) the physical sciences which deal with the objective phenomena of nature and human life; psychological science which deals with the subjective phenomena of human and sub-human life in their (2) mental and (3) emotional aspects; and (4) the study of physical and psychological phenomena whose origination appears to be transcendental to the ordinarily approached realm of phenomena, and has been called psychical.

SYNTHESIS OF SCIENCE



This lay-out of the sciences would be regarded by some scientists as too hospitable. Behaviourism would rule out all but its objective aspect, since psychology assumes a state of consciousness, hence some kind of entity of consciousness, while Dr. J. B. Watson denies the existence of such an excrescence on "pure objectivity." But many a scientist and philosopher would demur to the behaviourist limitation.

Indeed, a group of eminent American professors recently faced it with "a battle line" ¹ of eighteen destructive attacks on the behaviourist bluff by which the psychological world in America has been terrorized too long. The language is not parliamentary, but it seems to be the customary "reaction" to behaviourism in the United States. Another scholar, Dr. F. C. S. Schiller, ² says : "The success which has attended behaviourism is really rather a discreditable episode in American academic history..." and more to the same effect.

Even if behaviourism is prevented from abolishing the consciousness, there is another challenger to be met, that is, Naturalism, which is declared to be "the current world-outlook" and to be superseding the religious outlook. ³ In the "naturalistic world-image there is no place and no necessity

¹ "Behaviourism, a Battle Line," edited by W. P. King.

² "The Personalist," Journal of the School of Philosophy, University of Southern California, Los Angeles, April 1931.

³ "Religion and the Naturalistic Outlook," by Y. H. Krikorian, in "World Unity," New York, June, 1930.

for the supernatural. Instead of a supernatural world we have the universe of the mathematical physicist, where we trace more and more uniformities...Most of the modern biologists and psychologists have given up the notion of non-material agencies, such as vital force, entelechy, or soul, and are developing an observable and experimental science. Living and mental beings are considered to be aggregates or configurations of physico-chemical entities."

But, as the above writer says, not all of the scientists (he only claims *most* of them) have turned to naturalism in the sense stated above, and perpetrated the "bull" of producing a set of purely non-material conceptions as a contradiction to the equally non-material conceptions of supernaturalism. Professor J. B. S. Haldane, out of a life of scientific study, particularly of human respiration, rejects the physico-chemical explanation of life, and offers instead an organic or "holistic" conception.¹

Apart from these differences of specialists, it is possible for the intelligent layman, who wants to understand something of his own mental processes, to observe a function which, while normally it does not operate apart from a physical vehicle, is realizable as having characteristics separable from those of the physical vehicle; as the thoughts that I am now expressing are different from the stuff of my brain that remains inside my head while these products of its activity will travel away from it in various directions to individuals in India, California, Europe, Australia, and elsewhere. We call this present function a mental function, as distinct from the physical instruments through which it operates, now in its projection, later in its reception by others. In the operation of that mental function we observe an identity, cohesion, continuity and characteristic quality that allow us to speak of a mental entity with as much definition as the naturalistic

¹ "Materialism," 1932.

scientist above quoted speaks of "living and mental beings" who are "aggregates or configurations" in "the universe of the mathematical physicist." Scientists call the study of this mental entity psychology.

And now both behaviourists who deny psychology, and psychologists who falsify the dogmas of behaviourism, are asked to retire in favour of a combination of psychological and biological examination of pathological subjects, which puts up the signboard "Psychobiology," and in the words of its propounder, "claims that anything that is part of a person, his hopes and his fears, his convictions and urges, his attitude towards right and wrong, and even his religious conceptions and beliefs, is as much a property and quality of the person as anything that can be weighed in the scales or measured by the yard." ¹ With notable intelligence Dr. Meyer makes the synthetical suggestion that if this large psychobiological conception of man prevailed, education would have made a difference in the lives of certain human pathological specimens. The technique of this extension of the American "quiz" method of getting at the inside of a human being's mind, is a biographical statement and detailed personality study which treats the facts disclosed "in a spirit of objective description." (But, we here interpolate, education would make a still greater difference in human lives, so great a difference that pathological specimens of humanity would become as scarce as normals are to-day, if psychologists, while they go on for their own gratification making lists of the "free association" responses of persons to the word "tiger," or making them write their biographies, would insist on children in schools being given the opportunity to make the "biographical statement" of art-expression, which is the true expression of the inner being of the individual, beyond subterfuge on

¹ Dr. Adolf Meyer, Prof. of Psychiatry in Johns Hopkins University, U. S. A., lecturing before the New York Academy of Medicine, April, 1933.

the part of the subject, and less liable to misinterpretation on the part of the observer.) Said the late Dr. T. W. Salmon, Professor of Psychiatry in Columbia University: "The old unproductive controversy over what is 'mental' and what is 'physical' in normal or abnormal functions, is ending. The way is rapidly being cleared for the concept of man as organism, acting, even in his most circumstantial mental and physical activities, as a whole."¹ Which is excellent synthetical talk.

Sir J. Arthur Thomson goes further back than the psychiatrist in his recent addition to the growing catalogue of scientific summaries.² Science, he says, has not yet told us what such fundamental matters as life and mind are. Nor is there any warrant for being sanguine of success in explaining life in terms of anything else, such as matter or energy. It may be, he says, an "irreducible," as mind is. This term "irreducible" is reducible to the same significance as the "tanmatras" and "tattwas" of the philosophers of India which are Englished as "eternals." They indicate the human mental reaction at a stage of observation of the phenomena of life, a line separating *this* from whatever *that* may be. Moreover, the ancient scientific philosophers and the modern philosophical scientists both see the process of phenomenal activity in terms of synthesis. "It is the very essence of evolution to be integrative, to build up higher and higher wholes," says the modernist; and those who have read the six Darsanas of India know how very ancient is that conception of the evolutionary process.

Sir Arthur exercises the scientific imagination in visualizing the probable stages of evolutionary integration from the primeval interaction of water-vapour and carbides up to colloidal states of organic matter on the verge of life. But while the laboratory scientist enjoys himself creating a process

¹ Quoted in the programme of Dr. Meyer's lecture.

² "Riddles of Science."

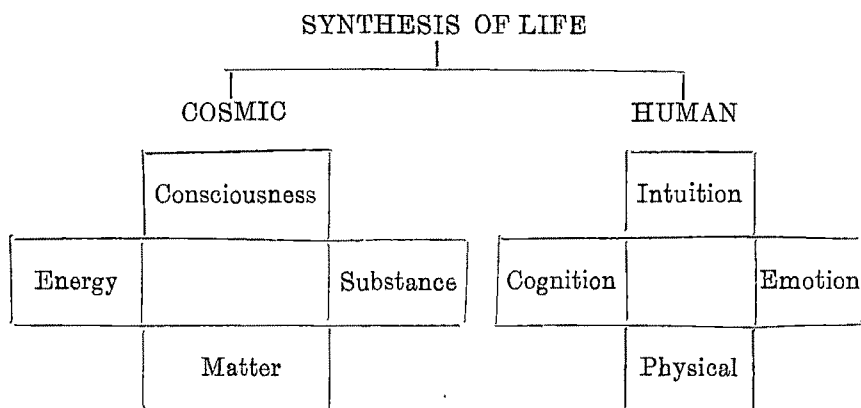
of evolution of life, the philosopher-scientist who inhabits the same brain, pauses in front of life itself, sees it to be beyond laboratory explanation, and makes the suggestion that life arose out of a synthesis of units of matter, such as he has imagined, with units of consciousness. "Perhaps we make the unsolved problem of the Origin of Life more difficult than it really is," he says, "by forgetting that it must have been not merely a biochemical but a biopsychical synthesis."

Thus the modern scientist pushes up from the *Nyaya-Vaisheshika* pluralism of Indian philosophy to the *Samkhya-Yoga* dualism. Life is not, in his view, a synthesis in its own right, but sprang out of a union of two preceding syntheses, one of matter and one of consciousness. There is assurance in the "must have been" of Sir Arthur's statement. It is not, however, the assurance of scientific demonstration, for he has declared that science does not know what life is: it is the assurance of imaginative conviction such as has carried science forward from stage to stage of thinning darkness, and will ultimately carry it on to light.

Finger-posts towards the light are, indeed set up at salient points along the converging paths from the region of matter and the region of consciousness towards the region of life. But they do not announce the way; they ask questions of the traveller. For example: if the union of units of matter with units of consciousness produced life, was not the life-potential already existent in each? Sir Arthur does say that the old idea of dead matter has vanished from science; but he puts a definite point to life's origin on this side of the colloidal states of matter. Again, if the influences of light, heat and electricity caused various associations and dissociations leading on to the concentration of acids and the formation of metallic substances, in the manner imagined by Sir Arthur, may it not reasonably be assumed that the *capacity* for such interaction was a function of life infused through the whole field of its operation, and including all possible future details

of its operation ? The assumption is as much entitled to the "must have been" as Sir Arthur's point of fusion between the biochemical synthesis and the biopsychical. Further, may not this elemental operation have been a function of the "units of consciousness" which, joined with matter, produced life ? Is it thinkable that, in a universe of law such as science has disclosed, any resultant can be entirely different from its constituents, or, *vice versa*, that any constituent could produce a resultant in which there was no trace of itself ? Is it thinkable that two constituents of a resultant could combine with no antecedent affinity ? How or when did the carbides in the warm rock-crust of the earth learn the trick of responding to the condensed water-vapour ? How did they learn to set free marsh gas ? How did the marsh gas know the exact moment to become marsh gas, and to exhibit the characteristics of marsh gas and not of acetic acid ?

In other words, accepting Sir J. Arthur Thomson's synthesis plus the inferences of the interrogative finger-posts, we may put the matter thus. The phenomenon which we call life manifests itself through the synthetical interaction of matter and consciousness, matter itself being a synthesis of substance and energy also united with consciousness. This synthesis of substance, energy and consciousness goes back to the earliest imaginable, if not demonstrable, phase of their interaction, beyond which analogy and imaginative conviction say there "must have been" (nay, still *is*, for the application of time-measures to these matters gives a false sense of dates to what is a simultaneous synthetical operation) a co-ordinating totality that stands in relation to the details of its "evolution" through time, space and causality, as the realizable, if not yet demonstrable, central totalizing, intuitional impulse in the human psychological endowment stands to its mental, emotional and physical agents, which are the human reflection of the cosmic agents of consciousness, energy and substance.



This does not solve the mystery of life. But it tidies it up somewhat, and it places the point of synthesis far enough back to give scientific justification for tracking out the synthetical process through its subsequent developments in the various phases of the human synthesis, and basing thereon a synthetical technique of life with the assurance that such a technique is nearer nature, therefore nearer humanity, than the present jungle technique which is not even the technique of a decently managed jungle.

In "Chemistry in the Twentieth Century" Professor Irvine Masson makes an excellent synthetical suggestion when he says: "The worker in pure science is a creature whose hope is, not to spoil, but to help to reveal the beauty of the scheme of things, and to portray the tangible unities and the rhythms which rise clear from the seeming complexities of nature." Here pure science is linked up with the artist's response to beauty, the thinker's comprehension of order, and the mystic's sense of cosmic unity.

In an article in "Nature" (1926) Professor Aliotta carries the realization of unity into action. "Science and philosophy," he writes, "try to order the world into the unity of an idea... but this does not exhaust the reality... Harmony of thought is not sufficient; we wish to feel ourselves to be truly living

souls...we wish to realise in feeling and action as well as mentally the concrete unity of life." Thus the modern scientist patterns the expression of the universe of inexhaustible reality on the simple fundamentals seen by the seers of the *Upanishads* of old,—soul, thought, feeling, life action.

But there is something deeper than the surface application of scientific knowledge. There are more profound necessities than creature comforts. Science could conceivably cater for a race of happy human molluscs. But there is always a shadowy spiritual rebel within earshot whispering treason against outer allegiance. The knowledge presented by physical science, says Professor Eddington, "is but an empty shell, a form of symbols. It is knowledge of structural forms, and not knowledge of content. All through the physical world runs that unknown content, which must surely be the stuff of our consciousness. Here is a hint of aspects deep within the world of physics, and yet unattainable by the methods of physics." And lest our respect for science should become inflated, he throws the sum-total of scientific discovery as to the reality of things into the phrase: "Something unknown is doing something we know not what." Which is a very fine discovery.

These expressions of the scientific mind working with an imaginative boldness that would have scandalized some of the scientists of the past, and even scandalized some in this our day of calling spades spades, give confidence to those in search of reality by their collective recognition of a clear and complete and simple classification of the nature of the human individual. They visualise a creative entity, working through thought and feeling, into active realization of personal embodied fulfilment, and of unity with all life. This process has objectivized itself in the general life of humanity as religion, art, philosophy, science; and, as the inner life of the individual remains ineffective without the focus of the body for expression, and thwarted without a constant adaptation of the external aspect of the individual life to its inner expansion;

so does the inner life of humanity remain ineffective without constant progress within its constituents, and a flexible social synthesis for its exercise. Knowledge of these constituents of the human synthesis should therefore be the work of science. To be effective knowledge it should be synthetical. The human unit acts as a unit, though with one phase of its synthesis in Predominance and the others serving it. Knowledge should also act as a unit, with one phase in operation and the others assisting.

JAMES H. COUSINS

PRE-BUDDHISTIC HINDU SHRINES IN CEYLON.

INTRODUCTION

The island of Ceylon is culturally and geographically a part of India, situated at a distance of only 22 miles over the Palk Strait ; out of about $5\frac{1}{2}$ millions of the Ceylonese (according to the last census) over a quarter are Tamil Hindus and the rest are Singalese Buddhists. The Tamils belong to the South Indian Dravidian stock and are orthodox followers of the Saiva Siddhanta School of Hinduism. Though Jaffna, Trincomalie and Batticaloa are the prominent Hindu colonies yet the Hindus have spread all over the island. The Hindus have about two thousand places of worship in the island, mainly dedicated to Ganesh and Kārtika, the two sons of Lord Shiva. Perhaps the biggest Hindu temple in Ceylon was lately completed by the late Sir P. Ramanathan (the Sir Surendranath of Ceylon), in the type and model of South Indian temples.

Ceylon adopted Buddhism from Prince Mahindra and Princess Sanghamitra of Asokan royal family about 3rd century B.C. or after 2 to 3 hundred years of the Mahaparinirvan of Bhagawan Buddha. But, beyond a shade of doubt the pre-Buddhistic religion of Ceylon was primitive Hinduism. The Buddhists also adore many Hindu Gods such as Ganesha and Skanda Swami. In some Buddhist houses stone-images of Ganesha are to be seen. It is said when Bhagawan Buddha came to Ceylon he placed Ceylon in charge of God Vishnu for safety and protection. So Vishnudeva is also worshipped in a big temple of Colombo by the Buddhists. Apart from this in Hindu temples, particularly during festivals, Buddhist masses worship the Hindu Gods like the Hindus with all rituals, for instance, dashing of cocoanuts, offering flowers and fruits, etc. When the Hindu kings had sway over Ceylon many Hindu

temples were built and Hinduism was encouraged. In Kandy where some Hindu kings reigned there are near the Holy Tooth Temple three Hindu temples dedicated to Sumanadeva, Vishnu-deva and Kārtikadeva, all owned by Buddhists where both Hindus and Buddhists offer Poojah. Even the ceremonies of the Tooth Temple have been greatly influenced by Hindu rites. In the Adam's Peak, the holiest place of Buddhist worship on a mountain peak about 7,500 ft. above sea-level, where it is said Buddha left his foot-prints of Shiva. Besides, there are four ancient Hindu temples of pre-Buddhistic origin at Kataragama, Trincomalie, Munneswaram and Dondra.

Kataragama.

Kataragama is the most famous sylvan shrine sacred to Hindus, Buddhists and Mohamedans equally. The Hindus delight to worship God in the forest near great rivers and mountains. All those are present at Kataragama, which lies in the heart of a vast forest infested with wild beasts in almost the southern point of Ceylon near the Indian Ocean, the nearest motor-bus station, far from the Railway station, being about 15 miles away from it. For fifty weeks in the year Kataragama is a small village in the forest inhabited by a few families in the temple service. But during two festival weeks in July-August it overflows with visitors and becomes a busy town with shops and markets and a veritable hive of activity with grand peraheras (processions) carried on at night. It is known as Deviganga Kele, a thick jungle almost near the sea-shore known to the dwellers in that wilderness as the Home of God Skanda whom they love and revere. The pilgrimage to Kataragama attracts Hindus, Buddhists and Mohamedans in their thousands from all parts of South India and Ceylon. The origin of this temple can be traced back to the hoary age of Hindu mythology when gods fought the Titans and wedded the daughters of men. Skanda or Muruk, the six-faced son of Shiva, is the

presiding deity of Kataragama, called by the Singalese as Kanda Kumara and by the Tamils as Subramaniam. This celestial being is said to have visited Ceylon in some remote age when it was not an island but part of the lost continent extending from Madagascar to Malaya Archipelago. Lanka was then governed by a Titan called Tarak a lover to the gods who was defeated in a battle at Kataragama by God Skanda, whom the Singalese and the Tamil regard as their god of war. He has a shrine in every Buddhist place of worship and plays a prominent part in ceremonies and processions. According to a tradition, Skanda the war god vanquished the Titans, wooed a Veddah maid and then won her and was consequently acclaimed as the god of the Veddahs and worshipped by them. Another tradition goes to say that Kataragama was the abode of an aboriginal deity, Kaderamma. It was also the abode of Devasena Kartikeya, the captain-general of the divine forces. There are many versions of the story of Skanda. As far as the Tamil Skanda Puran is concerned, and judging from the description given therein, Kataragama is not a place in Ceylon but in South India. It is rather difficult to say to which period it belongs but it is certainly anterior to the Ramayan. Mr. P. T. Srinivasa Aiyanger, a distinguished Sanskrit and Tamil Scholar of modern school is of opinion that Kataragama became a place of worship and pilgrimage in about 3rd or 4th century A.D. According to Skanda Puran there was a war between the Devas and the Asuras and there were the Yakkas and the Nagas, the former being called Devas and the latter, Titans or Asuras. The Yakkas are said to be Tibetans who like the Chinese called themselves celestials and that would indicate why the ancient Yakkas were called Devas. A festival is held annually in honour of god Skanda to commemorate his marriage with his second consort, the goddess Valliamma. This sacred place is also said to have been sanctified by Bhagawan Buddha in his third visit to Ceylon by air. It is also one of the first places where a sort of the sacred Bo-tree at Anuradhapura was planted. Near this sacred Dewala is the

ancient Buddhist shrine of Kiri Vehra founded in 300 B. C. by King Mahanaga of Mahagama.

There is a mountain near Kataragama named Vedahitiya Kanda or Katiramalai which means the mountain on which the great one (Skanda) lives. There Skanda Swami is said to be still watching over the island and there is up to this day a small temple at the summit dedicated to him. Kataragama Deviyo is looked upon by the Buddhists as a national hero or god. There seems to be a mistaken idea that the Tamils had a greater claim to Kataragama than the Singalese. The maintenance and management of this holiest Hindu temple of Ceylon is in the hands of the Buddhists as the holiest Buddhist temple of India, I mean Buddhagaya, is in the hands of the Hindus. As a matter of fact the worship of the god at Kataragama had been known to the Singalese people from the earliest times. *It is quite certain that the Singalese worshipped him before they became Buddhists.* The festival was held in the month of Āsāḍa and Ascla Poojawa was well-known in the earliest times and Buddhists still continue to perpetuate the festival. To the Singalese Buddhists god Skanda is the embodiment of energy as he typies life and principle of life.

The Kataragama temple is situated on the left bank of the river Manick-Ganga, the Ganges of Ceylon, whose water unlike the dirty and muddy waters of most Ceylon rivers is so clear that the sand under is clearly seen in spite of daily pollution. At all times of the day people bathe but the water remains unpolluted, clear and pure like the Ganges water at Hardwar and Benares. Most people who bathe in the water and drink it during festivals are immune from diseases. When this water was subjected by a doctor to a chemical examination it was found to be sterile and free from all germs.

The most impressive feature of Kataragama festival is the heroic penance phenomena of self-inflicted tortures. The devotees pierce skewers into their arms, cheeks, tongues and the backs and the unflinching manner in which they undergo the

process is most marvellous. The fire-walking ceremony also is most wonderful. The devotees walk barefooted on large and deep fireplaces filled with redhot cinders. In spite of piercing with hooks on the bare flesh of the devotees the reader will be surprised to learn that the sores do not fester nor turn septic. Dr. S. C. Paul, M.D., a leading medical practitioner of Colombo, once mentioned the case of an old road overseer who was suffering from diabetic celutitis and on whom he was to perform an operation in his famous Hospital at Colombo, namely amputation of a leg but did not do so as he found the man next morning well and needed no surgical operation. The old man explained to him that the night before he saw the God of Kataragama in a dream and that the God told him he would be quite well. The doing of a penance forms part of religious practices not only in India and Ceylon but was too well known in Europe. For even Queen Elizabeth did penance by walking a mile to church wearing high-heeled shoes with peas (not pins) inside.

Trincomalie.

In Trincomalie, an important naval base and one of the finest natural harbours of the world, lies another very ancient Hindu shrine named Swāmi Rock which is an abruptly vertical mass of gneiss. A character peculiar to the rock is the rectangularity of massive boulders upon the summit and the straight sides and face of the cliff about 300 feet high. The risk of falling off the edge into the ocean is great but the fascination of the scene is weird. Men, women and children with baskets of flowers, cocoanuts, brass jugs filled with milk, bundles of betel leaves and some palm flowers, go up chatting gaily with distinct holiday air but on emerging into the tiny plateau by the side of the rock they become not only serious and devout but seem overwhelmed with reverence and awe.

The rugged grandeur of the site probably led to its selection as a place of worship in times lost in the mists of ages—at least

in the pre-Buddhistic age—long before organised Hinduisim built a shrine on the spot. The shrine of a thousand pillars in honour of Siva, the great God, is famous in India as well as Ceylon and is recognised as a special place of pilgrimage. When the Portuguese in 1622 A. D. or the following year perhaps, destroyed the site they not only carried money, jewels, etc., away but they also smashed the columns, threw parts of.....into the ocean and used some fragments of the thousand stone pillars for building. One solitary stone pillar of early Hindu type still remains. It is on the topmost boulder of the landward pair; on it is engraved : “ Tot Gedaghtenis Van Francina Van Rude Tuf°, Van Mydregt Desen A°, 1687 : 24th April opgeregt ” in five short lines. From the rock downwards there is a great cleft in which is carved in relief, ‘Ganesh,’ who is worshipped from this open-air shrine. What is important here is that the visitors feel in their souls the reverence and awe inspired by the rock and share in the rituals performed there, an ecstasy of belief deserving of all respect. It will be difficult to banish from memory that vision—of “bleak cliffs whose smile severe and chaste : Time never hath stirred to vanity, nor age defaced,”—of the endless ocean far below our coign of vantage and the sincerity, simplicity of the open-air worship amid the awe-inspiring surroundings of the — Swāmi Rock at Trincomalie.

Munneswaram.

The pre-historic temple at Munneswaram near Chilaw has a lure for the Buddhists and the Hindus alike. The tradition goes to say that it is a Ceylon shrine at which Ramachandra worshipped. Historians cannot say exactly how many centuries back this temple was constructed ; however the legend is that it was built by Ramachandra after the defeat of Ravana. Situated about a mile from Chilaw and separated by a large tract of paddy fields, the Munneswaram Temple is venerated by both Tamils and Singalese. The story

goes that Sri Rama after rescuing Sita was going in his chariot through the air with his brother Lakshmana. The blood and carnage he had passed through on account of the treachery of Ravan haunted him like a nightmare and made him unhappy. At a certain stage in his passage through the air this sadness left him and Rama was struck by the change. He descended to the earth with his retinue and found himself in the Temple of Munneswaram. Sri Rama worshipped at the temple, made suitable offerings and initiated a Shivalingam called Ramalingam. Shiva is the presiding God at Munneswaram who is given the first and foremost chamber in the sacred shrine and is worshipped here as Muni Iswara but the shrine is also particularly sacred to his consort, Parvati, the discovery of whose figure has an interesting legend behind it.

One day a fisherman who was in the habit of casting nets in the river about miles off the temple, saw two children playing together on one of the banks of the river. The next day also he saw the two children playing on the bank and he decided to catch them. Arriving at the river earlier than usual on the third day the fisherman hid himself behind a bush and kept watch. As usual the mysterious children of the wilds came on their usual rounds when the fisherman gave chase and caught one of them, a girl, who mysteriously enough turned into a statue while the other, a boy, escaped into the water. The news spread like wildfire into the country and the then reigning king of the island on hearing this caused the statue to be brought before him as also the alleged discoverer of it. The king disbelieving the story took the statue and leaving it among many other similar statues which he specially got made and pronouncing his story a fraud ordered him to select his statue from among them failing which he would be pelled for spreading false news. Trembling with fear the fisherman went home and in the night it is said Goddess Amman appeared before him in a dream and asked him not to be disheartened but to select the statue that would shake its right leg. At the time of

selection the identification was correctly done and the king, now pleased, caused the statue to be taken in a huge procession to Munneswaram and deposited in the temple where it is to be seen up to this day. Besides the statue of Amman and Iswara there are figures of all the deities of the Hindu Pantheon amongst which the one with six heads and twelve hands representing God Skanda in his martial character was presented to the temple by an ancient king of the Malabar coast. The Portuguese, however, destroyed the temple from time to time and plundered its wealth. A noticeable feature at Munneswaram is that a large majority of people who come to worship at the sacred shrine are Singalese and Buddhists, the Hindus being a minority. From all the country side and the numerous villages they gather with the intention of worshipping 'the unseen God.' Parakrama Bahu VI, King of Kotte, made a pilgrimage to this temple in 1448 A.D. He extended the building, repaired the existing structure and also gifted to it large extents of land. Engraved on the stone walls of the temple the deed of gift is still to be seen. In 1753 Sri Raja Singha, another King of Kotte, hearing of the havoc caused by the Portuguese who once burnt it and razed it to the ground, went there with artisans from India, repaired the temple and performed the Kumbha Abhisekham. A festival is held in commemoration of the meeting of Amman with Rishi Agastya who visiting the island from India led a hermit's life for some years at the temple here and a perahera is conducted every year for 14 days terminating on the full-moon day.

Dondra.

The ancient name of Dondra is Devinuwara or the City of Gods—a rising townlet, about 5 miles from Matara. There we have the Sri Vishnu Dewala which was once one of the most celebrated temples in Ceylon. The place has been the resort of the devotees and pilgrims from the remotest ages.

There are some Buddhist Dagobas but the most important temple is a shrine which in very early times had been erected by the Hindus in honour of god Vishnu. The present shrine known as Devin dra Dewala is about 1,500 hundred years old, having been established in the reign of King Dhappulla II, of Rahuna Rata, and every one of the kings of Ceylon was Dayakar of the shrine. There is a romantic story about the founding of the sacred shrine. One day King Dhappulla was in his palace at Matorn when information was brought to him that a red sandalwood image of God Vishnu was formed on the sea-shore at the royal park. The king immediately proceeded to the spot to see the object. Considering it unsafe to touch the image with human hand he cut a canal about $\frac{1}{4}$ of a mile from the spot to a suitable place in the park and had the image floated down to a temporary shed prepared for its reception. With the assistance of priests the image was placed on a dais erected for the purpose and nearby a Dewala was built to house it. He got the buildings covered with sheets of silver and it is said when the sun rose the mariners in the ships admired the sight. King Parakrama Bahu V of Dambu Deniya substituted a golden image in its place which was subsequently taken by the Portuguese when they robbed the temple. Another king built some Kovils in honour of some Hindu gods also. The popularity and patronage extended to the fair held every year for days is so great that it has come to be known as the biggest in the East. The temple was so vast that it had the appearance of a city but this magnificence only excited the rapacity of the ruthless Portuguese who tore down thousands of statues, and temples and buildings were levelled to the ground.

If Rama's expedition and the conquest of Lanka existed in any form or had any foundation more material than a poet's fancy this ruin on the lone rocky point near the shore of the Indian ocean may be considered as an index which has resisted the waste of ages and now battles with the waves of ocean to

maintain its position and mark the utmost limit which remains of Vishnu's wardship of Ceylon.

Conclusion

There are many other ancient places of Hindu worship with which history has little acquaintance but which may after consistent research shed great light on the dark annals of pre-Buddhistic Hindu Ceylon. There is a great task of infinite significance now before the historians of greater India. From the above we know that Hinduism was the recognised religion of Ceylon before Buddhism came. Apart from this the Singalese who from the vast majority of the Ceylonese race are descendants of Vijaya the Bengali prince, and hence in language specially the Singalese has close affinity with the Bengali. Fifty per cent. of words of classical Singalese are identical with those of Bengali. So though Ceylon as a whole is a 'crown colony' of greater India, Singalese Ceylon is an important part of Greater Bengal. Both the Singalese and the Bengali belong to the same stock of North Indian Aryans and so have many things common between them. Comparative philology of Bengali and Singalese will reveal great treasures of linguistic wealth of Greater Bengal. In my paper, "Bengal and Ceylon" read before the Greater Bengal Section of the Prabasi Banga Sahitya Sammilani held last December in Allahabad under the esteemed presidentship of Dr. Kalidas Nag, I emphasised the urgent need of founding a Greater Bengal Society or Brihattara Banga Samity in Calcutta early, to carry on organised activity and research on this neglected but vitally important subject of Bengal's national history. We are indeed very grateful to Sj. Jnanendramohan Das, the eminent author of "Banger Bahire Bangali," the first pioneer to explore the supreme existence of Greater Bengal. That modern Bengal will be richer in every way by the services of such a society is open to no doubt. In South Kanara there are people called Gonda Saraswat Brahmans who claims that they are

immigrants from Bengal. Their language Kon-Kini—only a colloquial tongue with no written script—is a South Indian extension of Bengali and nothing else. From this, Guzrat, Java and specially from Singalese Ceylon many things of greater Bengal can be unearthed. Most humbly I beg to draw the esteemed attention of cultural leaders of modern Bengal to consider this matter most favourably as early as possible. I have given a general survey of the subject in an article “India and Ceylon” published in the April issue of “India and the World” of 1933. Greater Bengal Society may be started independently or in connection with the Bengali Department of Calcutta University successfully. Reuter wirelasses that a Greater Asia Society has been inaugurated in Tokyo very recently. So it is high time that a Greater Bengal Society should be started to delve into the dark history of ancient Bengal.

JAGADISWARANANDA

BEYOND NEPTUNE

To a dim lost land down paths uncharted,
Where the King of dreams holds His Regal sway,
And the pull of the Sun is forfeit or thwarted
Beyond the furthestmost end of ultimate day—
I had strayed out there far beyond Neptune,
To the limitless spaces of a dawnless night ;
Where never the trailing robes of a Queen Moon
Are woven and wound in a web of starlight.
Night, black Night, and his shuddering terrors,
Strove, crept and writhed within the sad gloom.
Slime-cold arms of Tartarus known horrors
Flapped about me smothering wings of doom.
Shapes not seen but bidding dire menace,
Daunted with fears my all stricken will.
Earth-born dangers but owning no earth chance
Brooded new Sprites in the dank cosmic chill.
Never were winds or shade nor kind shadows,
Since never was raised up plant, forest or tree.
Never summer blown spray, or stinging pearl snows
Swept this passionless waste of drear Eternity.
Morn was not, nor lorn form of beauty,
Blossom of weed pledging care of purpose divine,
Urge of ideal nor flogging spur of duty
Laureled high effort or branded conscious crime.
Then I cried aloud in sore troubled dream tones,
Calling the name of an old comrade, Christ.
Out of sleep-land from misty dim dream thrones
Came the answering token, a rising dawn mist.
Open wide then I threw curtain and window,
Welcoming with joy, thus, the brave light of day,
Knowing that surely fear clouds and shadow
Are but as dust wraiths and blown soon away.

DAVID W. CADE

IS SPINOZA A RIDDLE ?

The philosophy of Spinoza is to this day a riddle. On the one hand, it has been maintained that from his metaphysics, his ethics, perhaps the quintessence of his philosophy does not follow; to be more precise, there is a huge gulf unbridged between them. Others do not like to ascribe any importance to his metaphysics, though they are not at all disinclined to appreciate the beauty and grandeur of his ethics. Russell, in more than one place, expresses this idea. "The ethical work of Spinoza, for example, appears to me to be of the very highest significance, but what is valuable in it is not any metaphysical theory.....nor indeed anything that can be proved or disproved by arguments.....The value of such works, however immeasurable it is, belongs with practice, and not with theory."¹ Others again, without sharing any predilection for the above contentions hold that his metaphysics is of doubtful character, since contradictory conceptions of reality he, at times, upholds.

When Spinoza claims to be an advocate of the geometrical method in the sphere of philosophy, it is really heart-rending to note that his students cannot grasp his doctrines as clearly as the theories of geometry and even specialists differ widely with regard to his world-view. The accuracy and brevity of the geometrician might be present in his philosophy, but plain, certainly, it is not, since masters of the subject cannot pierce through his doctrines. Even a cursory reader of the philosophy of Spinoza will not perhaps fail to observe that his philosophy is nothing but a summation of a few definitions and axioms from which certain propositions have been developed and established after the manner of

¹ On Scientific Method in Philosophy, p. 15.

geometry. Spinoza's ethics is rather the philosophical edition of the Euclidean Geometry. Spinoza thought that by following the geometrical method, he would prove the soundness of his doctrines beyond doubt, but considering the results achieved by it, it would not be unfair to opine that he thought wrongly.

Spinoza flatters himself with the belief that the very definition of substance gives the whole of his philosophy, the later discussions are only a development of implications, a clarification of the fundamental concept. His very concept of causality indicates this. He regards the relation between the triangle and the sum-total of its angles as a causal one. The division of the cause from the effect is a psychological and not a metaphysical one; it merely deals with our own standpoint, the angle of vision from which we study entities under discussion. Consequently when he defines substance, which is the cause of every other entities, practically speaking he has finished his philosophical discussions,—all later discussions are nothing but the elaboration of the preliminary concept. As the Geometry of Euclid may easily be shown to be contained in the concept of point, so Spinoza would have us believe that the whole of his philosophy is contained in the concept of substance. Such rigorous is his adherence to the geometrical method, that while everything is clear to him, to our vision everything appears to be dark. This fostering of fond hopes, with regard to his metaphysics, on the part of Spinoza, must have some sort of explanation; it cannot perhaps be ascribed to his foolishness, since a study of his attempt at geometrising in philosophy shows that he has enough of logical acumen.

The failure of Spinozistic philosophy is greatly due to its adoption of the geometrical method. Geometrical method can never be the method of philosophy, since geometry is an abstract science dealing with ideal concepts, imaginary fabrications of intellect, whereas philosophy deals with facts.

With the best of our efforts we cannot draw a purely geometrical point or a straight line and so on. Geometry, in other words, is a science dealing with empirical impossibilities. It has this much merit that it supplies scope for the play of pure dialectic or abstract thinking. It shows that if you are prepared to admit that there are such entities as geometrical points, lines and figures, then you will indubitably be convinced of the veracity and soundness of its propositions. Philosophy, if it follows the geometrical method, would be able to show that there is nothing logically absurd about its conclusions, they would follow through a logical necessity from certain definitions and axioms like the propositions of the Euclidean Geometry. Spinoza, with this belief adopted the geometrical method, but the difficulty is that the Geometrical method cannot properly speaking, be applied to philosophy. Philosophy does not deal with abstractions, or the arbitrary constructions of the human mind which have no actual counterpart. Substance, the attributes, and the modes of Spinoza, are not at least in the sense in which he understands them, abstractions. He would not be content, if we take it for granted for argument's sake, that there are such entities, and further that from the assumption of such entities, the intellectual love of God, as the *summum bonum* of men follows through a dialectic necessity. Not only this, even this intellectual love of God is a fiction, an intellectual construction. It is palpably certain, that even if we are whole-heartedly prepared to give Spinoza the credit of establishing these conclusions through the display of logic but at the same time regard these as imaginary concepts, Spinoza would be the last man to shake hands with us. This is indeed the difficulty of geometrising in Philosophy ; since in doing this we are no doubt making its logical side as perfect as possibly could be expected, but at the same time, we are, consciously or unconsciously, depriving philosophy of its deep, practical

significance by making it a mere intellectual art for the establishment of propositions dealing with purely ideal concepts. Philosophy, thus understood, becomes "logomachy or logic-chopping" which at least, according to Spinoza's unadulterated admission, it is not.

But, alas, even the good side of the geometrical method is not present in Spinoza. The geometrical method, if properly applied, must make a philosophical system free from logical aberrations, must show that its conclusions follow through a logical necessity from its premises. But the conclusions of the Spinozistic philosophy do not follow from its definitions and axioms. Admitting that there are substance, attributes and modes as defined by Spinoza, it can in no wise be shown that his ethical conclusions follow from them. This has led critics to remark that there is a gulf between his metaphysics and ethics. Whether there is such a real gulf between them or not, or whether such a gulf is inevitable, we shall consider later on. But this much might be remarked without hesitation that if there is a gulf between his metaphysics and ethics, there are such gulfs even in his metaphysics. Spinoza believes that from the very nature of substance, it follows that it has an infinite number of attributes which are infinite after their kind,¹ and that these attributes find themselves expressed in an infinite number of modes and last of all, that the highest good of mankind consists in a voluntary surrender to the divine will, which he calls "intellectual love of God." These deductions do not follow from the assumption of a substance whose essence consists in existence; even so much elucidation by Spinoza cannot make them clear. It is said that a tree is best known by its fruits, and the results achieved by the Spinozistic philosophy testify to the fact that he has not been able to deduce his propositions exactly in the manner of Euclid, since, so far as the question

¹ Infinite after its kind may be many in number and should be clearly distinguished from the real infinite which cannot be two.

of the Euclidean Geometry is concerned, nobody feels at sea in understanding the logic of it, and no flaw is generally discovered in his arguments. But the logic of Spinoza is not convincing.

The appreciation of the geometrical method in philosophy is to be traced to Pythagoreanism. The philosophers of the West are, to a fault, enamoured of mathematics. They think that the logic of mathematics must be applied to philosophy in order to make its truth self-evident in the degree in which a mathematical formula seems to be self-evident. This tendency is evident in Socrates, in Plato, in Aristotle and to a remarkable degree in Descartes and other philosophers of the modern era. We do not like to ignore the non-mathematical side of those philosophies but simply like to point out that this spirit reigns supreme in the splendid systems of Western philosophy. Still Spinoza's failure in the application of the mathematical method looms large before our vision of the fact that he makes a rigorous application of this method because by even following in the plain manner the geometrical procedure of defining, axiomatising and deducing.

The failure of the philosophy of Spinoza is seriously due to his leanings upon Descartes in the selection of his method and to his deep knowledge of mathematics. In the modern era, Descartes was the first man who reared the belief that by doubting, it is possible to reach the indubitable. And he had a special attraction for mathematics since he found that mathematics prove beyond doubt its formulae. From this, he imbibed the belief that the application of the method of mathematics to philosophy is a desideratum, for long lost sight of. In fact, his procedure of reaching the indubitable through doubt is nothing but the unwarrantable application of the method of mathematics in the sphere of speculative philosophy. He himself observes—"I was specially delighted with mathematics. I was astonished that foundations so strong and solid should have had no loftier super-structure

raised on them.”¹ As a matter of fact, modern philosophy is so much enamoured of mathematics that even when it affirms by argumentation, that reality is not cognizable by intellect, even then it takes its stand on mathematics. The Critique of Pure Reason of Kant is an attempt at showing that what is possible in the case of mathematics, cannot be actualised in metaphysics, the science of reality. Consequently a tendency to speculate would ever burn in the human heart, but it would never be put an end to by intellect. Metaphysics as a science is an impossibility, though as a disposition it is a veritable reality. But, fortunately for Descartes, the fundamental principle of his philosophy, arrived at with the help of the mathematical method is much more concrete than that of Spinoza. And it is probably for this that the philosophy of Descartes is much more plain than that of Spinoza, and also has not been subjected to such severe criticisms. Further, Descartes tries to establish the very foundation of his metaphysics by the help of the mathematical method but Spinoza never tries to prove it. This has also led to the confusion about Spinozistic metaphysics. This further shows that Spinoza’s allegiance to the geometrical method is more apparent than real. Had he been a real follower of the mathematical method like Descartes, either he would have not left his fundamental propositions unestablished or would have frankly admitted that it is an assumption. Our study of Spinozism tells us that he does neither. Whether Descartes had been successful in establishing his fundamental position is an altogether different question, but that he has strained every nerve to prove it, is beyond doubt. It is because of this that Spinoza, inspite of his insertion of the geometrical procedure and language has remarkably failed in his attempt at rationalising philosophy in the manner of geometry. It is one thing to maintain that by following the procedure of mathematics, the conclusions of philosophy should be proved,

¹ The Philosophical Works of Descartes, by Haldane and Ross, Vol. I, p. 85.

and it is quite another thing to assume the existence of entities without any frank admission of these assumptions. Spinoza made an use of the geometrical method in the latter manner, whereas Descartes applied it in the former manner. We have already shown reasons why the mathematical method should not be applied to philosophy; now we simply point out that the manner in which Descartes applies it, is much more prudent than the form in which Spinoza utilises it.

We have nearly finished evaluating Spinozistic philosophy in the light of the geometrical method, laudably advertised by it. The conclusion, arrived at by us, is that the influence of Descartes upon Spinoza is immense, and his very failure is indeed due to his misapplication of the method of the former. He practically failed in utilising the mathematical or what is more aptly called geometrical method in the manner of Descartes. What we say below, would further prove the above-mentioned thesis, and would also show that much of the misunderstandings that have centered round his philosophical thoughts would not have come into being, had he not been attracted by the apparent grandeur of the geometrical method, which is not truly the method of his philosophy.

The method of Spinoza's philosophy should be found out in the light of his epistemology. Everybody now believes in the futility of building up metaphysical systems without previous epistemological considerations. Metaphysical superstructures unless built upon strong epistemological foundations at once fall to the ground. Spinoza builds his metaphysics upon the strong foundation of his epistemology; only due to his unnatural love for the geometrical method, he forgets to bring this prominently to the notice of his students. I am afraid that if we study Spinoza in this light, Locke might not be called the father of modern epistemology, though it is generally customary with us to do the same. Spinoza recognizes three distinct types of knowledge. The knowledge

of the first kind he calls opinion or imagination, of the second kind reason and of the third kind intuition. Opinion is nothing but sensuous knowledge, rational knowledge is that gained by the help of intellect and the intuitive is the highest kind of knowledge. He maintains that sensuous knowledge is always false, but the the rational and intuitive knowledge teach us to distinguish truth from falsity.¹ And in this portion of his philosophy, Spinoza further describes intuition as the highest type of knowledge and maintains that this kind of knowledge alone can give us peace of the highest order to which we are all utter strangers.² But in ascribing intuition a higher status than reasoning, Spinoza does not underestimate intellect. The attempt at knowing reality by the help of intellect is, according to him, a step towards the intuitive knowledge of reality. He observes: "The endeavour to desire to know things by the third kind of knowledge cannot arise from the first, but from the second kind of knowledge."³ Thus, Spinoza's attitude towards intellect is much more respectful than that of Bergson who believes that intellect distorts reality and is useful for the guidance of the active life but not at all helpful in offering a first-hand knowledge of the ultimate reality.⁴ Thus, we see that intuitive knowledge is the real method of Spinoza's philosophy, and consequently in the light of this, his whole system should be studied.

Spinoza's belief in the clarity of his assertions, though it appears like a stumbling block before his students, goes in favour of the above contention. Spinoza strained every nerve to insert the method of geometry into philosophy; consequently, it is fair to expect from him that he would either prove the existence of substance and other preliminary

¹ See Spinoza's *Ethics*, Part II, Propositions 40, 41, 42.

² See Spinoza's *Ethics*, Part V, Prop. 27.

³ Spinoza's *Ethics*, Part V, Prop. 28.

⁴ Bergson's "An Introduction to Metaphysics."

concepts of his philosophy in the manner of Descartes or would clearly point out that these are mere imaginary entities accepted with the avowed purpose of showing a display of dialectic. But we have already shown that he does neither. But at the same time, he maintains that, of the objective existence of such entities man can have knowledge through intuition and as a matter of fact, such knowledge indeed is the be-all and end-all of this human existence. Under these circumstances, we must either call Spinoza a fool, or must maintain that he posits the existence of entities known through intuition at the very beginning of his philosophy and his geometrical method is an after-thought, nothing but a futile attempt at the ratiocination of that intuitive experience. Probably, the clarity which he ascribes to his concepts is due either to his personal intuitions of those, or to his strong belief in the intuitions of other people.

We maintain that if the real method of Spinoza's philosophy is thus, caught hold of, his world-view, however hazy it might be, will not elude our grasp.

We have made it clear that in the determination of the nature of reality as maintained by Spinoza, the final court of appeal should always be intuition. And Spinoza is of opinion that intuition makes a man conscious of the fact that he has no real freedom. He is only a mere instrument in the hand of the Divine and the universe indeed rests in the bosom of God and is thoroughly guided by His will or Him, as we may like to call it. From this, what inference can be drawn? Does it show that his substance is attributeless, or does it go in favour of the thesis that it has infinite number of attributes? Further, he maintains that in knowing reality thus, by intuition, we become immortal. Does this fact go to prove that the substance is the only reality, and is attributeless? Evidently not; all these facts go to prove that his substance is possessed of attributes, something embracing all, or rather an all-embracing all.

Spinoza gives his philosophy the appellation, "ethics," and he concludes his philosophy with an ethical discussion. This evidently shows that his main interest is ethical and not a merely theoretic one. In a letter to one of his friends he writes that he is seeking after a knowledge that would give him perfect peace. Now it would not be fair on our part to interpret his metaphysics in opposition to the trend of his ethical thinking, basing our interpretations upon some ambiguous assertions made by him. Subjectivistic interpretation of the philosophy of Spinoza which denies the existence of the world of experience is hardly compatible with his ethics. Intellectual love of God demands the existence of an all-embracing God who guides the universe, and whose part and parcel this tiny individual, who loves him, is. All subjectivistic interpretations of Spinozism strike a blow to its ethics—the central topic of this philosophy. Even, if there is really a clash between his metaphysics and ethics, in order to understand Spinoza best, certainly we must adopt his ethical portion in preference to his metaphysics. But when the same world-view is described in both places, and only a few ambiguous expressions serve as disturbing factors, it would be wholly unfair to mar the keynote of his philosophy by an unwarrantable and undue allegiance to some of the minor details which can as well be otherwise interpreted.

Apart from these two considerations from his epistemology and ethics respectively, we are trying to prove below with reference to some of the most evident texts of the metaphysical portion of his philosophy, that his conception of reality can never be a subjectivistic one:—

The very first definition of his philosophy proves that his conception of reality cannot be a world-negating one. He observes—"By that which is self-caused, I mean that..... of which the nature is conceivable as existent." A few

lines afterwards, Spinoza treats substance as the only self-caused entity. Now, when the self caused substance is conceivable as existent, how can it be the attributeless Brahman of Samkara whose existence cannot be conceived of? The definition of substance further confirms the same impression—"By substance, I mean that.....of which a conception can be formed independently of any other conception." Here also Spinoza never denies that the substance is not conceivable, but simply means to say that it cannot be conceived through anything other than itself, but certainly it can be conceived through itself. As a matter of fact, one possessing intellectual love of God conceives it through itself. It is quite well known, that Spinoza regards God as the only substance and this God, he defines, as a "substance consisting of infinite number of attributes of which each expresses eternal and infinite essentially." According to Spinoza, God or the substance is the only reality, and when he maintains that "The more reality or being a thing has greater the number of its attributes."¹ Is it proper to regard his God as attributeless and thus to treat this world as a fiction?

That Spinoza's substance is not the attributeless absolute of Samkara can further be pointed out by the fact that he regards substance as the 'indwelling' as well as the 'transient' cause of all things of the world. When Spinoza describes his substance as the 'indwelling' cause of this world, it cannot be said to be devoid of this world. Thus, it is clear that it pervades the world and consequently is not attributeless. When substance is the transient cause of the world, it follows that substance is not the world as we see it, it transcends it. In other words, Spinoza, like the Hegelians, maintains that the substance though immanent in the world, yet transcends it.²

¹ Spinoza's Ethics, Book I, Prop. 9.

² Spinoza's Ethics, Book I, Props. 18 and 25.

If Spinoza's substance is attributeless, then this world which is nothing but a modification of the substance under its attributes is automatically negated. But Spinoza never denies the world. The corollary 1 of Prop. 17 of the Book I of his ethics amply proves this. The proposition itself runs thus:—"God acts solely by the laws of his own nature, and is not constrained by any one." Corollary 1 adds to it the following commentary—"It follows that there can be no cause which either extrinsically or intrinsically, besides the perfection of his own nature, moves God to act." This shows that the world follows from the nature of God because of his perfection and not due to any want. God, whom "perfection moves to action," has never been attributeless. He reveals himself through this world. This is his activity. But His activities are not guided by any consciousness of want but flows from His perfect nature. No teleological interpretation of the world is applicable here since, this world is nothing but a manifestation of God, whose activities are never guided by purpose and wants. This reminds one of Vedantic interpretation of this world as the Līlā or the play of Brahman. God manifests himself through this mundane series which are nothing but his sports. This concept of Līlā cannot be permanently fitted into systems which deny the existence of this world. Thoughtful readers might point out that even Samkara who ascribes no transcendental existence to this world, believed in the doctrine of Līlā. But, even Samkara had to admit that the concept of Līlā cannot be harmonised with the negation of this world. Samkara observes—

“न चेयं परमार्थविषया सृष्टिश्चुतिः अविद्याकल्पितानामरूपव्यवहारगोचरत्वात्”

All the troubles about the metaphysics of Spinoza arose perhaps from these two ambiguous statements:—(1) “*determinatio est negatio*”—“every determination is

¹ Brahmasūtras, 2nd Chapter, Sec. I, aphorism no. 33.

negation;" and (2) the attributes are that which intellect perceives as constituting the essence of the substance."¹ Those who like to ascribe a subjective interpretation to Spinozism, maintain that the attributes of substances are nothing but the perception of intellect, having no metaphysical status. They hold that the dictum every determination is negation implies that substance has no qualities, since to ascribe attributes to it amounts to its determination. But these two statements may also equally be interpreted in a manner that suits well with the realistic note of Spinoza's philosophy. The Spinozistic dictum—every determination is negation might as well mean that the substance has an infinite number of qualities, and consequently to limit the number of its qualities or to regard each one of those qualities as finite, would amount to the negation of the substance possessing an infinite number of attributes, infinite after their kind. Practically in the same manner Rāmānuja interprets one of the aphorisms of the *Brahmasūtra* which also substantially means the same thing.²

The definition of the attribute may also be interpreted in a realistic manner. Attributes are not mere perceptions of intellect, though as a matter of fact, intellect perceives them as constituting the essence of the substance. Of course, with regard to this statement still a bit of misconception remains, whose total effacement seems impossible. When Spinoza maintains that only two of the infinite number of the attributes of the substance, intellect can perceive, how can then, consistently with the above interpretation he maintain that all the attributes of the substances are perceived by intellect? But in another way, this statement even lends an additional support to the realistic interpretation of Spinoza. It is this; when Spinoza, himself maintains that of the infinite number of the attributes of the substance

¹ Spinoza's *Ethics*, Bk. I, Def.

² *Brahmasūtra*, Chapter III, Sec. II, aphorism no. 22.

only to two of them intellect has an access, how can the rest of them be treated as mere subjective projections of intellect? Further, when the fundamental trend of his thinking has by other serious considerations been determined to be a realistic one, it would be very unfair on our part to forego them for the sake of some ambiguous statements.

It seems quite incomprehensible why Hegel should in face of these realistic tendencies describe Spinoza's substance as a "lion's den" towards which all beasts proceed but from which none returns, and also compares it to a night in which all cows are black, meaning by the statement that Spinoza really leaves no scope for the mundane series. It is not easy to trace the cause of this world-negating interpretation of Spinozism in the hands of Hegel. Spinoza never speaks of the degrees of reality, and does never trace the course of the manifestation of the absolute through the world, but simply describes it as an all-embracing entity. He is on this point at one with Rāmānuja who does not believe in the doctrine of the degrees of reality, though he regards the absolute as immanent in the world-series. Hegelianism speaks of the grades of reality, and generally regards the reality of mind or spirit as of a superior order than that of matter. Perhaps, such categorical denial of this Hegelian doctrine was the cause of this misunderstanding. Otherwise no serious cause of this sort of interpretation of Spinozism can plausibly be conceived.

We have, purposely, not grouped Spinozism under any fixed metaphysical school, since to categorise it under any 'ism' might lead to misunderstanding. We have simply shown, that Spinoza is not a believer in the doctrine of the degrees of reality though he upholds the conception of substance or God or the absolute who embraces within itself the whole world, including individual selves and guides them all, being impelled not by necessity but by its innate perfection. Our humble consideration shows us that such a conception of

reality comes properly neither under pantheism or panentheism. It is not pantheism or a cosmism since it never denies the existence of the world, and it is not panentheism of the Hegelians, since it never lays stress upon the doctrine of the grades of reality.

After determining the nature of the Spinozistic metaphysics as best as we could, we now pass to the consideration of his ethics. His ethics is significant in many respects. It holds with Socrates that the supreme knowledge is indeed the supreme virtue. He believes with the Upanishadas and the distinguished systems of Indian thought that the knowledge of the ultimate reality makes one automatically moral. His ethics should not be interpreted as intellectualistic implying by the term that Spinoza believes in dire opposition to facts that mere intellectual knowledge makes a man virtuous. Spinoza knows well that to be a scholar is not necessarily to be virtuous. Such criticism cannot fairly be urged against Spinoza since by knowledge, he does evidently mean the knowledge not of the intellectual order, but intuitive knowledge which presupposes total control over all emotions, in a word, the transformation of the whole being. Spinoza regards blessedness as not the result of virtue with Kant but treats it as virtue itself.¹ Here he shakes hands with the author of the Bhagavad-Gita. To differentiate blessedness from virtue is to underestimate it, and this leads to an insertion of a mechanical connection between virtue and blessedness as it has been the case with Kant in his critique of practical reason.

Spinoza in his ethics seems to combine the metaphysics of Ramanuja with the ethics of Samkara. Samkara holds that mere knowledge of reality suffices to remove all sufferings, and nothing besides knowledge is required for the attainment of perfection. Spinoza, also maintains that mere knowledge of the nature of substance would remove all ignorance and

¹ See Spinoza's Ethics, Bk. V, Prop. 42.

give us bliss. But whereas Samkara maintains that with the dawn of this knowledge, the individual ceases to exist and becomes one with the absolute; Spinoza with Ramanuja maintains that that indeed is the true immortality of the individual. He observes :—"The human mind cannot be destroyed with the body but then remains of it something that is eternal."¹ He prescribes knowledge as a sovereign remedy for all passions and even maintains that proper knowledge of passions and emotions strikes an axe at their root. "An emotion, which is a passion, ceases to be a passion, as soon as we form a clear idea of it."² The Bhagavad-Gita also upholds the doctrine of intellectual love of God as the highest virtue, but whereas Spinoza thinks that a mere knowledge of the ultimate reality would result in such love, the Gita maintains that without divine grace neither such knowledge nor such love, the individual can obtain. In fact both agree in maintaining that such knowledge and such love are inseparable. Critics might say that Samkara also often speaks of divine grace as an indispensable condition of the dawning of the highest knowledge upon the individual, consequently he is not at one with Spinoza, on this point. In fact, Samkara speaks of divine grace sometimes but as ultimately he does not recognize the existence of God, his utterances about grace loses the metaphysical value, otherwise they would have appropriated.

The ethics of Spinoza really contains innumerable gems of immense value and deserves separate treatment. We cannot, however, resist the temptation of quoting some of its dictum of immense significance.

(I) "He who loves God, cannot endeavour that God should love him."³ This enforces the selfless nature of divine love as distinguished from all earthly love. This truth has been preached as well as felt by all religious reformers.

¹ Ethics, Bk. V, Prop. 33.

² Ethics, Bk. V, Prop. 3.

³ Ethics, Bk. V, Prop. 19.

(II) "The more we understand particular, the more we understand God."¹

"God is without passions, neither is he affected by any emotion of pleasure or pain."² This gives a very grand conception of God and the world, and makes God certainly the moral ideal. From the moral standpoint, this is a really ennobling, conception of God.

(III) "In proportion as each thing possesses more of perfection, so is it more active or less passive and *vice-versa* in proportion as it is more active, so it is more perfect." This reminds one of the activism of Eucken, the desireless activity of the Bhagavadgita and the categorical imperative of Kant.

(IV) "Neither do we rejoice therein (blessedness) because we control our lusts, but contrariwise, because we rejoice therein, we are able to control our lust."³ In other words, a taste of divine joy makes self-control a very easy task. It reminds us of the following couplet of the Gita—

"The man who refrains with struggle from sense objects, no doubt, possesses some sort of self-control, but the real self-control automatically follows from the knowledge of the ultimate reality."⁴

The concluding paragraph of his ethics cannot but sound a note of hope in every aspirant after liberation and amply shows that he had at least a taste of that covetable stage. "How would it be possible, if salvation were ready at hand, and could without great labour be found, that it should be by almost all men neglected? But all things excellent are as difficult as they are rare." It reminds us of the following utterance of the Kathopanishad—"Men of illumination say that

¹ Ethics, Bk. V, Prop. 24.

² Ethics, Bk. V, Prop. 17.

³ Ethics, Bk. V, Prop. 42.

⁴ Bhagavadgita, Chap II, 59th couplet.

the path of realisation is very sharp like the end of the razor, and is very difficult to traverse but still ye arise, awake, and stop not till the goal is reached.”¹

The philosophy of Spinoza thus understood leaves no gulf between its metaphysics and ethics. Spinoza upholds that the knowledge of reality as outlined in his metaphysics is enough for liberation. But, as a matter of fact, there is and there will ever be a gulf between metaphysics and ethics. Metaphysics simply tells us what the nature of reality is, but whether the knowledge of that reality is the highest boon of man or not, no metaphysics can tell. It must for ever remain silent on that point. In contemporary philosophy, a tendency of dissociating ethics from metaphysics has been ushered in.² It is held that the guidance of our active life can have no vital connection with metaphysics. This is rather a social topic. This view is about as true as false. Certainly, a nature of ultimate reality can by itself have no connection with the guidance of our active life. But if, as a matter of fact, it is found that the knowledge of the ultimate reality gives us the highest amount of peace, then metaphysics has some sort of connection with our ethical life. But, after all, this is a connection which does not follow from metaphysics as metaphysics, but something discovered by ethics in its search after the *summum bonum*. But the treatment of ethics as a social topic, in no way, solves the alleged problem of the connection of metaphysics and ethics but simply evades it. Ethics may be a social topic, but it is not always found to be so. Ethics, after all, is primarily connected with peace and happiness of the individual and this may not at all be social happiness, if social happiness stands in the way of the individual weal. Thus, we see that ethics is of pragmatic origin; it is ultimately utilitarian, and its

¹ Kathopanishad, Chap. I, Sec. 3, 14th couplet.

² An Out-line of Philosophy, Russell, Chap. on Ethics.

connection, if any with metaphysics, is established by ethics and never follows from the very nature of metaphysics.

When we critically evaluate the philosophy of Spinoza as a whole, we find that his ethics is splendid and his metaphysics is mainly, based on intuition, though garbed under the cover of the geometrical method. Thus, to Spinoza, substance, attributes and the modes are real facts, intuited and not huge assumptions made for the building up of a philosophic system of purely theoretic import. The more we will go to emphasise his allegiance to Descartes, and consequently to the geometrical method, the more we will be unable to realise the deep significance of his philosophy. He seems not to uphold the doctrine of one substance or that of parallelism merely to remove theoretical inconsistencies of the philosophy of Descartes. It is probably through intuitive knowledge that he came to know them. The less we speak of the geometrical method in Spinoza, the better for us. Spinoza in taking his stand on intuition has not been guilty of what the realist calls the 'fallacy of the speculative dogma, since his substance, attributes and modes are veritable entities experienced through intuition. After all, whether Spinozistic conception of reality is right or any other conception is right, can finally be determined not by argumentation but by an immediate knowledge of reality. The beauty of Spinozistic philosophy lies mainly in its statement of a fact and not in its argumentative flights.

Our study of Spinoza would scarcely be complete if we fail to refer to his really philosophic life. He is, undoubtedly, one of the brightest luminaries in the philosophical firmament of the West. His own philosophy was as a matter of fact a faint echo of his life, absorbed in the intellectual love of God. As a humble glass-polisher of Holland, he passed his life without thinking of hollow name and fame. His friends and admirers appreciated his merit by offering him a big post which his unambitious nature refused to accept.

Spinoza, was to his co-religionists, a heretic, quite unknown to the mass, only the fortunate few that came into close contact with him saw in him a mighty thinker, life combined with genius. He was a philosopher in the true sense of the term, since unlike others he believed in what he preached: He reminds us of Samkara and Ramanuja, and other philosopher-saints of India, of Pythagoras, Socrates, Plato, and Plotinus ; and of Kant and Hegel.

GOVINDACHANDRA DEBPURKAYASTHA

THE GENESIS OF MIR QASIM'S WAR WITH THE ENGLISH

It has often been held that the Nawab had never actually meant to break with the English, and that it was Ellis who was really responsible for the ultimate rupture. This view has been repeated so often since the days of Vansittart that it sometimes passes for a self-evident truth. Popular imagination has pictured Mir Qasim as an unfortunate martyr who fell a victim to the unrighteous greed and hostility of the English. His fate has evoked pity, and he has been regarded by many an Indian writer as a patriotic hero who nobly sacrificed his 'masnad' in defending the rights and privileges of his unhappy subjects groaning under the tyranny of the English merchants. Contemporary evidence, however, belies this popular notion, and supports the belief of the Nawab's avowed opponents who condemned him as an implacable enemy of the English. There is no doubt that the Nawab had, from the beginning, aimed at establishing his complete independence of the English, and that he patiently strove to break the supremacy which they had obtained after the revolution of 1757. His object was to establish an independent and unfettered 'Subahdari' in Bengal by reducing the extraordinary power and influence of the European traders.

Mir Jafar's dependence on the English had been galling to Mir Qasim, and as an interested spectator of the affairs in Murshidabad, he had not failed to notice the utter subjection of the Nawab to English control. He had, what is generally lost sight of, fully learnt the anti-English designs of Miran, his rival, whose example must have created a deep and lasting impression on his mind. He was only more ingenious and artful than Miran, and knew how to proceed with his plans cautiously and with dexterity. He lacked the dashing impetuosity and military aptitude of his rival, and thus had to rely more on diplomacy,

and intrigue when he sought to achieve his object. The unquestioned highhandedness of the English 'gumashtahs' gave him a good pretext for attempting to put an end to the whole of the English inland trade. The violence of the Chiefs of the factories was an equally serviceable excuse for demanding the withdrawal of the Company's troops from the interior of the province. Owing to Vansittart's policy of strict non-intervention, the Nawab had already secured full autonomy in his internal administration, and had developed a large and efficient army, besides transferring his seat of government to a distant centre in Bihar. All those who had been known to have any connexion with the English, or with the late Nawab were systematically removed, punished, or even executed on some pretext. All this pointed to an unmistakable desire on the part of the Nawab to free himself from English control. Thus, a conflict between him and the English was really inevitable sooner or later.

For over two years, the Nawab had been busy with the work of administrative re-organisation and consolidation, so he could not have thought of hostilities in the meantime. He had to make his government financially solvent, before he could dream of embarking on ambitious projects. Above all, he had to disband the existing rabble forces, and create a new and efficient army. Thus, up to the end of 1762, the Nawab was busily occupied in husbanding his financial resources, and in re-modelling his army. The Nepal expedition which was undertaken early in January, 1763, was the first visible indication of the Nawab's aggressive designs. He was now in a position to put his military strength to the test. It was after his return from Bettia that he seriously contemplated hostilities with the English. He had scarcely come back to Monghyr when he sent an intermediary to the Emperor, and to the Wazir of Oudh in order to seek their alliance against the English. According to Ghulam Husain, the Nawab entrusted Mirza Shamsuddin, one of his trusted 'Wakils,' with this mission.¹ As Ghulam Husain was

¹ Siyar (Lucknow Text), p. 718.

an intimate friend of the latter, he heard from him all about this secret errand, and his information therefore is extremely valuable. Kalyan Singh also writing from personal knowledge says,¹ "He (*i.e.*, the Nawab) submitted representations to the king and the Wazir.....praying for help."² It is therefore clear³ from the above that the Nawab had now determined on breaking with the English and was looking for convenient allies. This is admirably illustrative of his characteristic shrewdness. He had surely realised that his struggle with the English would be both difficult and prolonged, and consequently he deemed it prudent to enlist the moral and material support of the Emperor Shah Alam, and his powerful Wazir.

In the meantime, the Nawab was undoubtedly making secret preparations for war.³ Mr. Chambers wrote to Mr. Batson from Cossimbazar on April 3, 1763, "It is publicly talked at the City that the Nabab is determined to get rid of us one way or other.....Several parties of horse and foot have arrived at the city, within these two or three days and great preparations are making for defence, in case our army comes this way....."⁴ That the Nawab had himself ordered a movement of his troops to different places was admitted in his own letter to Mr. Amyatt, wherein he clearly stated that this was not a preparation for war, and that he was merely recalling the troops from places where they had been stationed for a long time past.⁵ It was obviously a lame excuse, and thus could not convince Mr. Amyatt who strongly complained to the Nawab of this mysterious concentration of the latter's troops at Patna.⁶ The Governor also protested against the sudden stationing of Muhammad Taqi Khan and Shaikh Haibatullah

¹ Khulasat (J.B.O.R.S. V. p, 609.).

² *Vide*, also Tarikh-i-Muzaffari (Alld. Univ. Ms., p. 783).

³ Beng. Pub. Cons., April 1, 1763.

⁴ Beng. Pub. Cons., April 12, 1763.

⁵ Trans. P.L.R., 1763, No. 12, p. 8.

⁶ Trans. P.L.R., Apl.-June, 1763, No. 10, p. 8.

with their troops at Katwa, who were reported to have declared their intention to invade Burdwan.¹

The capture of Patna by Ellis has usually been regarded as an extremely unjustifiable action and he has been generally condemned for his high-handed aggression. But the circumstances which finally led him to conclude that war was inevitable, and that an offensive alone was the best possible means of averting a disaster have not been adequately stressed. A more tactful and cool-headed person than Ellis might have waited a little longer, but it is undeniable that there was sufficient evidence to show that the Nawab was bent upon driving out the English from Patna, sooner or later.

The facts which could not fail to indicate the suspicious character of the Nawab's intentions may be thus analysed :—

(i) Immediately after the failure of his Nepal expedition, the Nawab thought it proper to remove Naubat Ray from Patna to Monghyr, and appointed in his place Mir Mahdi Khan who had so long commanded the force in Shahabad.² The very appointment of one of the principal commanders as Naib at Patna was significant, and was really meant to be a warning to Ellis.

(ii) The new Naib strangely enough, did not pay³ the Chief the usual compliment of even informing him about his arrival. Evidently the Nawab did not desire even the slightest familiarity between his Naib and the Chief.

(iii) Scarcely had Mir Mahdi Khan arrived at Patna when it came to be reported that preparations for war were being actively made on an unprecedented scale.⁴ Ellis in his letter to the Council, dated March 5, 1763, wrote, ".....he carries on the preparations for attack or defiance (for as yet we

¹ Trans. P.L.L., 1762-3, No. 57, p. 59.

² Siyar, p. 718.

³ Beng. Pub. Cons., March 18, 1763.

⁴ Letter from Ellis to Mahdi Khan. Trans. P.L.R., Jan.-Sept 1763, No. 43 B, p. 67.

know not which to call them) with more vigour than his predecessor, and thereby adds to the terror and alarm of the inhabitants..... It is commonly talked that the Nabob has sent Mindy Cawn to drive out the English.''

(iv) Every attempt was being made to stop all intercourse between the factory and the town. On March 4, the gates of the town were kept shut for most part of the day, and the relief of the English hospital guard were refused admittance. On a protest being made, although the guard came to be admitted, the 'Burbunna' wicket remained closed.¹ According to the author of the Muzaffarnamah, the Nawab also issued strict orders that no Englishman, or his agents should be allowed to enter the fort.²

(v) Since February, the Nawab had been sending troops into Patna, and Ellis reported³ early in March that a number of commanders in different parts of Bihar were already under orders to march to Patna. This massing of troops at Patna was inexplicable, because there was no immediate danger to the province.

(vi) The English troops at Patna were further harassed by a practical stoppage of the supply of provisions.⁴ Ellis complained,⁵ "The Nabob seizes all provisions coming from Bengal, and such is the scarcity here, that had it not been for the 'gunge' which so much pains was taken to abolish, we had long e'er now been obliged to take up arms to procure our daily sustenance.'"

(vii) Early in June, Ellis reported that the Nawab's agents had been secretly inducing many of the Company's sepoy to

¹ Beng. Pub. Cons., 18th March, 1763.

² Muzaffarnamah (Alld. Univ. MS., p. 338).

³ Beng. Pub. Cons., 18th March, 1763, and also Letter from Ellis, dated April 5 1763.

⁴ Amyatt during his stay at Monghyr complained of the fact that a number of boats laden with grain, and going to Patna were being detained (Trans., P.L.R. Apl.-June, 1763 No. 15, p. 15).

⁵ Beng. Pub. Cons., 9th May, 1763.

desert by promising them a higher salary in the Nawab's service.¹ As the sepoy continued to desert in large numbers, Ellis had to raise the allowances to stop these desertions.²

(viii) Encouraged by the fact of the Nawab's open estrangement from Ellis, Mahdi Ali Khan's men did not hesitate to abuse and insult the English sepoy whenever possible.³ Mahdi Ali Khan himself set a 'chauki' on the house of a 'Gomashtah' of the Company on mere suspicion.⁴

(ix) The Nawab suddenly came to an understanding with Kamgar Khan against whom operations had been in progress for a long time past, and the troops so long stationed in the latter's country were ordered down to Patna where they arrived on June 5.⁵ This was another proof of the fact that the Nawab was concentrating most of his scattered forces in Bihar at Patna. It is no wonder, therefore, that Messrs. Amyatt and Hay wrote in their letter to the Council, dated June 14, "It appears to us from the Nabob's disposition of his forces, both by his strengthening the detachments towards Beerbhoom and Murshidabad, and his ordering to be assembled at Patna his troops from the Mey country and other places to the westward, and from what he has dropped in conversation, that he designs to attack, at the same time, both Burdwan and our forces at Patna in hopes of subduing them before they can be succoured."⁶

The detention at Monghyr of the boats laden with arms for the Company's troops at Patna must have further deepened the suspicions of Ellis, and the demand for his recall from Patna along with most of the Sepoy indicated an unusual defiance on the part of the Nawab. Under the circumstances, the Council

¹ Beng. Pub. Cons., 17th June, 1763.

² *Ibid*, Letter from Ellis, dated June 6, 1763.

³ Beng. Pub. Cons., 9th May, 1763.

⁴ Letter from Amyatt to the Nawab, dated June 9, 1763 (Trans. P.L.R., Apl.-June, No. 16, p. 15).

⁵ Beng. Pub. Cons., 17th June, 1763.

⁶ Beng. Pub. Cons., 23rd June, 1763.

decided, on June 9, to direct the gentlemen at Patna to be upon their guard, and act as they might be advised by Messrs. Amyatt and Hay.¹ This point is too important to be lost sight of. It is clear that Ellis was definitely instructed by the Council to be prepared for any sudden emergency.

Being convinced therefore that war was imminent, Ellis had been making every preparation for the coming rupture. This was reported to the Nawab in exaggerated terms by Mahāi Ali Khan and others, and the Nawab conveniently adopted it as a good pretext for augmenting his own forces at Patna. The Nawab magnified in all his letters to the Governor the alleged bellicose preparations of Ellis; and explained away his own preparations for war. On June 19, the Nawab wrote, with respect to Mr. Ellis, how shall I speak, or how shall I write what quarrels he has made with my people from the beginning, and how he has injured my affairs? Now he is every day making preparations against Meer Mahomed Mehdee Cawn, and making a show of his forces before him, and is ready to attack him. In this case, I and my people are without remedy.² A few days afterwards, the Nawab again wrote in similar vein, "As to the particulars of Mr. Ellis, what shall I write? Daily he is seeking occasion to quarrel with Meer Mahomed Mehdee Cawn, and now by what I can learn, that gentleman is bent upon the design of assaulting the fort of Patna."³ The Nawab enclosed certain papers of news⁴ to justify his allegations against Ellis. It is easy to criticise Ellis on the basis of the Nawab's representations alone, but it must be admitted that the Nawab's own preparations had compelled Ellis to take measures in self-defence. The Nawab bitterly complained against the latter with the object of justifying the hostilities which he had lately decided upon⁵ at the instance of Gurgin Khan.

¹ Beng. Pub. Cons., 9th June, 1763.

² Trans. P.L.R., Jan.-Sept., 1763, No. 50, p. 77.

³ Trans. P.L.R., Jan.-Sept., 1763, No. 51, p. 80.

⁴ Trans. P.L.R., Jan.-Sept., 1763, Nos. 51A, 51B, 51C, 51D, 51E, pp. 82-84.

⁵ Siyar, p. 725.

On May 26, the Nawab wrote in a threatening mood, "However desirous I am of avoiding the worst, yet I see no means of it, and my patience is near exhausted."¹ On June 19, he similarly threatened, "It is a duty on every man to defend his own honour."² Again, on June 22, he reminded³ the Governor, "Since the Chiefs of the factories are stretching out their hands against my honour and reputation, I and my people are in every respect without remedy, nor is it in my power to use any longer forbearance." Could anything be more expressive than such successive threats? Above all the fiery words⁴ of Mehdi Ali Khan, "If that chief is determined on a quarrel, I will put up with no more insults, but will fight with him," were intended to be an ultimatum, and must have been inspired by his master. Dr. Fullarton who was an eye-witness of the affairs at Patna says that preparations of war were carried on with great vigour inside the fort from the 17th of June.⁵ Ellis was thus hardly unjust in making counter-preparations in self-defence.

Ellis directed the attack against Patna on the 25th of June,⁶ and this commenced the war which ended in the downfall of the Nawab. Simply because Ellis decided to strike the first blow, he has been accused of deliberately forcing a war on the unwilling Nawab. The latter too declared subsequently, "Although I have in no respect intended any breach of public faith, yet Mr. Ellis regarding not treaties, or engagements, in violation of public faith, proceeded against me with treachery and night-assaults."⁷ Mr. Vansittart too argues in his narrative that Ellis was responsible for the war, and that it could have been

1 Trans. P.L.R., Jan.-Sept., 1763, No. 49, p. 76.

2 Trans. P.L.R., Jan.-Sept., 1763, No. 50, p. 77.

3 Trans. P.L.R., Jan.-Sept., 1763, No. 51, p. 80.

4 Trans. P.L.R., Jan.-Sept., 1763, No. 51A, p. 82.

5 Fullarton's Narrative (Beng. Reb. Cons., 19th December, 1763).

6 *Ibid.*, and Diaries of Surgeons Anderson and Peter Campbell, June 25, 1763.

7 Letter from the Nawab to Adams, dated September 9, 1763. (Trans. P.L.R., Jan.-Sept., 1763, No. 53, p. 85).

prevented.¹ "My own opinion is," he says,² "that Mr. Ellis's intention was, from the beginning, to break with the Nawab." Howsoever morally unjustifiable the attack against Patna may have been, the action of Ellis, when closely examined in the light of the actual circumstances admits of some justification. It is true that by commencing the hostilities himself he needlessly laid himself open to the charge of treachery or foul play, and that a more prudent person would have waited till the Nawab's people took the offensive but, in fairness to Ellis, it must be admitted that peculiarly placed as he was, he considered an offensive alone to be the only safe course under the circumstances. His was probably an error of judgment, which in that critical moment was difficult to avoid.

Ellis was fully aware of the active preparations of war³ going on in the fort, and he had also been convinced by other circumstances that the Nawab meant war. His decision to capture Patna by surprise was therefore not due to a sudden whim. The question arises, "what led Ellis to decide upon an attack?" The facts that appear to have finally determined the decision were the following:—

(i) The Council had decided on June 9 to instruct Messrs. Amyatt and Hay that they should before departing from Monghyr direct the gentlemen at Patna "to act in the manner they judge most proper for their own security, in case the Nabob

¹ Vansittart's Narrative III, p. 388.

² *Ibid*, p. 387.

³ This was proved by certain letters written by the Nawab to Mahdi Ali Khan, which had been discovered after the fall of Patna (*vide* Beng. Sel. Com., 31st Jan. 1765). The following ones may be cited:—

(i) A letter, dated 11th Ramazan, 1176 (30th or 31st March, 1763) which contained an account of the Nawab's plans against the English.

(ii) A letter, dated 3rd Shawwal, 1176 (20th or 21st April, 1763) which contained instructions for the arrest of Ellis.

(iii) A letter, dated 9th Zilhijj, 1176 (21st or 22nd June, 1763) ordering the commencement of war!

(iv) A letter, dated 13th Zilhijj, 1176 (26th or 27th June, 1763) directing Mahdi Ali to capture or kill Ellis.

marches, or sends any troops to attack them.”¹ It is certain, therefore, that Amyatt must have given the aforesaid warning to Ellis. The former wrote to the Council on June 14, “The last time we were with the Nabob, he told us that peace, or war depended on the removing our troops from Patna.”² Naturally he must have written similarly to Ellis.

(ii) Amyatt wrote in cypher both to Ellis and to the Council on June 21 that he and his party had virtually been made prisoners, and that his boats had been seized.³ Ellis must have concluded, therefore, that war might be declared any moment!

(iii) It was definitely known at Patna on the 23rd June⁴ that Amyatt’s negotiations had been broken off, and war was consequently imminent. It had been understood from the beginning that the success of Amyatt’s negotiations alone could avert hostilities, hence the news of the failure of the latter’s mission could only mean war.

(iv) On the 24th June, a message was received⁵ in the evening that Amyatt had left for Calcutta the same day, leaving Hay as a hostage at Monghyr. Matters were thus critical indeed!

(v) On the 21st June, the Nawab suddenly ordered⁶ a large force under an Armenian officer, Marcat⁷ to march to Patna. This was what influenced Ellis most. The news of the march of about six regiments⁸ to Patna was sufficient to convince him that the Nawab intended to attack the English

¹ Beng. Pub. Cons., 9th June, 1763.

² Beng. Pub. Cons., 23rd June, 1763.

³ Beng. Pub. Cons., 4th July, 1763.

⁴ Surgeon Anderson’s Diary, June 23rd, 1763, and Surgeon Peter Campbell’s Diary of the same date.

⁵ Surgeon Peter Campbell’s Diary, June 24, 1763.

⁶ Beng. Pub. Cons., 5th July, 1763. (Letter from Amyatt, dated 25th June, 1763.)

⁷ Beng. Pub. Cons., 5th July, 1763.

Gentil’s Memoires, p. 211.

⁸ Siyar, p. 727. Muzaffar-namah, p. 340.

at Patna. In this connexion, the opinion that Major Adams gave in the Council on April 14 is worth quoting, "...should the Nabob march a large force towards Patna, without any apparent reason, or otherwise commit any act of hostility, they (*i.e.*, the gentlemen at Patna) should take any step for their own security, even to the taking of the city of Patna....."¹ It is obvious therefore that Ellis followed the instructions of Major Adams in surprising Patna, when he heard about the approach of Marcat at the head of a big army.

The only other alternatives² open to Ellis were, either to wait till the factory was actually threatened by the Nawab's troops, or to leave it beforehand. That the first course was fraught with the greatest danger will be readily admitted. The factory could hardly be defended, if it were to be besieged by the enemy. Moreover, the intelligence of a formal declaration of war could never reach Patna in time to enable Ellis to take the offensive with any advantage. The second alternative was equally objectionable. Firstly, the abandonment of the factory would have affected the morale of the sepoys, and might have encouraged further desertions. Secondly, the magazine lay in the lower part of the house, and could be blown up by a common rocket. Thirdly, the hospital and the sick lay within the town and could not be sacrificed, their immediate removal being out of the question, even if it were permitted. Fourthly, the supply of provisions being scarce, and almost cut off, it would have been difficult to hold out till the arrival of re-inforcements. Fifthly, Ellis was at this time hard pressed for money, and he had hardly sufficient funds to meet the demands of the troops. Finally, desertions were continuing, and it was found impossible to stop these without an increment in the allowances. For all these reasons, Ellis deemed it impolitic and even suicidal to remain on the defensive in the ill-fortified factory, and ultimately decided

¹ Beng. Pub. Cons., April 14, 1763.

² Beng. Pub. Cons., May 9, 1763. (Letter from Ellis to the Council.

to seize the city. "Our distance from Calcutta is very great, and whenever the Nabob marches this way, our communications will be cut off, and most probably not opened but by your army. If therefore we should obey nature's first law, we hope we shall not be found culpable, though it may not perfectly coincide with your orders." Thus replied ¹ Ellis to the Council protesting against its resolution of April 14, which made it obligatory on him to remain on the defensive until he had received notice of war from the Council.

There is satisfactory evidence ² to prove that the Nawab did decide upon war after the failure of his negotiations with Mr. Vansittart, although he had undeniably hesitated earlier. Mr. Vansittart's contention ³ that the Nawab was inclined to peace till Ellis's attack on Patna is absolutely untenable. In short, the Nawab seriously thought of, and prepared for, war after his treaty with Mr. Vansittart had been disapproved by the Council. Messrs. Amyatt and Hay wrote to the Council from Monghyr on May 18, "We had a good deal of conversation with him on different subjects, in which it appeared he had considered himself as in a state of war with us for some time past, and had issued orders and made preparations accordingly....."⁴

The account of Ghulam Husain who was present at the Nawab's Court during this period makes it abundantly clear that there were two rival parties,⁵ in the Court—one headed by the Nawab's closest friend, Ali Ibrahim Khan, who strongly advocated peace and friendship with the English, and the other was represented by the Armenian Commander, Gurgin Khan, who prevailed on the Nawab to welcome hostilities, and thus establish his independence of the English. After a good deal of hesitation, the Nawab adopted the counsel of the war party, and

¹ Beng. Pub. Cons., May 9, 1763.

² Siyar, pp. 724-5. Muzaffar-namah, p. 338. Tarikh-i-muzaffari, pp. 785-7. Khulasat (J. B. O. R. S. V., p. 609). Riyazu-s-Salatin (A.S.B. Text), p. 382.

³ Vansittart's Narrative, III, p. 389.

⁴ Beng. Pub. Cons., May 30, 1763.

⁵ Siyar, p. 724.

banished all thoughts of peace from his mind.¹ In resolving upon hostilities, he appears to have had a number of objects in his view. It may here be pointed out that the dispute in regard to the duties on private inland trade was neither the sole, nor even the principal cause of his war with the English. He had wider, and more ambitious, designs when he finally determined to go to war.

In the first place, he was from the very beginning bent on freeing himself² from the control of the English. He had closely watched the dramatic rise of the English as the supreme authority in the country after 1757, and had witnessed the utter subordination of his predecessor to the latter. This position he intended to change either by diplomacy, or war. He disdained to be bound, hand and foot, to the English alliance, as his father-in-law had been. By sheer diplomacy, he had been able to win from the well-meaning Governor a degree of freedom which his predecessor could never have dreamt of under Clive. It was, however, the question of the private inland trade of the Company's servants, which unexpectedly hastened the inevitable clash of interests between the Nawab and the English. The former realised that a successful war alone could vindicate his dignity and independence.

In the second place, he aimed at ruining the whole private inland trade of the English, but his motive was entirely political. The question of the duties was not only secondary, but was immaterial too. It was the privileged position of the English that was galling to him, and he regarded their private commercial activities as³ a serious menace to his authority. He believed that unless the inland trade of the English happened to be completely stopped, the gentlemen of the factories and their insolent 'gumastahs' would ultimately reduce the authority of

¹ *Ibid*, p. 725.

² Verelst's View, etc., p. 47. Grant's Sketch, p. 197.

³ Letter from the Nawab, dated Feb. 26, 1763. (Trans. P. L. R. Jan.-Sept. 1763, No. 22, p. 23.)

his government to nothingness. Backed by the Company's military force, their trade appeared to be a grave danger to his internal administration, hence nothing short of an entire abolition of the private trade of the English could have satisfied him.

In the third place, he was determined to avenge himself on Ellis whom he proclaimed as his worst enemy, and whose consistent opposition to himself aroused his bitterest rancour and hatred.¹ In fact, the vindictive Nawab seems to have welcomed a rupture with the English more out of personal spite against Ellis and others who had condemned his elevation and had opposed him throughout than from any other motive.

In the fourth place, he looked upon war as the only means of obtaining a heavy indemnity² for his alleged losses due to the rapacity of the English 'gumastahs.'

In the fifth place, he was eager to recover the districts of Burdwan, Midnapur, and Chittagong, which he had ceded to the Company after his accession to the masnad. The loss of these important districts must have rankled in his heart, and he only awaited a suitable opportunity for demanding³ their restitution with their rents for three years.

Lastly, the Nawab appears to have cherished the hope of driving out⁴ the English from the country altogether.

The war between the English and Mir Qasim was a logical sequel to the revolution of 1757, and it resulted from the latter's

¹ Letter from the Nawab, dated June 19, 1763. (Trans. P. L. R., Jan.-Sept., 1763, No. 50, p. 77.)

² Vansittart's Narrative, III, p. 331.

³ Letter from the Nawab, dated June 28, 1763. (Trans. P. L. R., Jan.-Sept., 1763, No. 52, p. 84.)

⁴ Muzaffarnamah, p. 344.

Riyazu-s-Salaten, p. 382.

Beng. Pub. Cons. 17th Jan., 1763.

„ „ „ 15th Feb., 1763.

„ „ „ 22nd Feb., 1763.

„ „ „ 1st April, 1763.

„ „ „ 12th April, 1763.

„ „ „ 4th July, 1763.

vain attempt to undo the effects of the revolution, and restore the '*status quo*.' The real point at issue was whether the English could have suffered themselves to be relegated to the position they had occupied till the time of Sirajuddaulah. If the Nawab had been content to play the rôle of an indolent pleasure-seeker like his predecessor, the final trial of strength between the English and the Bengal Government would only have been postponed. But, Mir Qasim was an ambitious ruler keen on establishing himself as an independent Nawab, and this obviously meant an unavoidable conflict with the English whose predominance was a settled fact after the rise of Mir Jafar. From the beginning, the Nawab had assiduously sought to get rid of the English domination in Bengal, and had prepared for war, knowing it to be certain, but he needed only a fair pretext for it, and this was supplied by the hostile attitude of the Council in regard to the question of the English inland trade, and the attack on Patna by Ellis.

NANDALAL CHATTERJI

EARLY EXPERIMENTS WITH SINKING FUND IN INDIA

1. Sinking funds were established from time to time to redeem Indian public debt from its early origin. They are not therefore recent experiments in the history of the redemption of the public debt of India, as some economists tend to hold. The earliest sinking fund can be traced to the year 1798, when for the first time one was established in Bengal (3rd April).¹ In the next year the operation of the fund was extended to Madras.²

It may be mentioned here that before 1798, Philip Francis, the renowned councillor of Warren Hastings, in course of discussion of a conversion plan, which is unnecessary to be dealt with here at length, proposed a sinking fund. His advocacy did not however mature into action. The credit for the inauguration of the first sinking fund, therefore belongs to Mr. Myers, the then Accountant General of Bengal.³ With him may be associated the name of Sir Alured Clarke, who during his office as an acting Governor-General (6th March to 18th May, 1798), gave practical shape to the proposal of Mr. Myers.

The salient points of this plan of sinking fund in Bengal were as follows :—⁴

(1) A fund was to be established in Bengal for the redemption of the existing and future debt of the East India

¹ Calcutta Gazette, 12th April, 1798. The notification was dated the 3rd April, 1798.

² Letter from the Governor in Council of Madras (Pub. Dept.), to the Court, 9th Oct., 1799.

³ Letter from the Governor-General in Council at Bengal (Secret Dept.), 16th March, 1798.

⁴ Extracts from the Bengal Secret Department Consultation, 3rd April, 1798, quoted in the Pub. Consn., 26th July, 1798, No. 48; also Calcutta Gazette, 12th April, 1798.

Company in India, to be provided out of the surplus resources, if there were any, and mainly by bills drawn upon the Court of Directors. The annual amounts to be drawn were to consist of no less a proportion of the principal of the current debt than two per cent. plus an equal amount of interest that might accrue upon the securities to be redeemed.

(2) The amount of cash received in the General Treasury by the issue of bills, and also the amounts that might be received by the Commissioners from the General Treasury on account of the interest and the principal of the securities purchased, when they would come in course of payment, were to be separately allocated to the account of the Commissioners of the sinking fund.

(3) The Commissioners were to apply all monies so placed to their account to the purchase of government securities, whether the same might be at, above, or below par.

(4) The Commissioners were to divide the whole of the money to be disposed of by them in as equal weekly portions as might be conveniently practicable and to divide the amount into two weekly purchases to be made by acceptance of offer at which the creditors would sell their securities.

(5) The Commissioners were at liberty to subscribe any part of the fund in case there be any balance remaining idle, towards any public loan.

According to the calculation of the Accountant General, it was presumed that in about twenty years the whole of the Indian debt could be extinguished. Although such a contention was held in the official circle with considerable pessimism, it was believed that the plan would be highly efficacious in raising public credit to such an extent that there would be no further difficulty in raising public funds by future loan operations. This will be evident from the preamble to the notification of the sinking fund, wherein it was stated that the Governor General in Council "having adverted to the great depreciation of the public securities" adopted such a

measure "for upholding the value of the securities in future."¹ In a despatch to the Court of Directors the same object was elaborated as follows :—

“Although the plan may not be productive of all advantages stated in Mr. Myer’s letter, we are satisfied that, besides providing for the discharge of your debts in the most advantageous manner, it will contribute greatly to uphold the value of public securities, especially at periods when the exigencies of Government may render it necessary for them to avail themselves of their credit to a considerable extent ; and consequently, that we shall be enabled to raise supplies, not only to a larger amount, but on terms more favourable than has hitherto been practicable, without, at the same time, occasioning that great depreciation of the public securities which had hitherto invariably followed every extraordinary demands on our resources, and which in its operations has been equally injurious to your interests, to those of the great body of holders of your securities.”²

Looking to its object and methods of working, the earliest sinking fund in India was very defective. Its end as a fund for the repayment of the debt and for its extinction was subsidiary and remote. Its immediate object was to expedite the realisation of future loan operations. A sinking fund worth the name should be provided out of surplus ; this was an artifice principally at the cost of the home treasury—perhaps to avoid the limitation of amount and exchanges imposed by the legislature on the transfer plan previously undertaken. In addition, the securities purchased by the Commissioners were not to be cancelled immediately ; they were to be held up indefinitely in order to receive interest ; the interests received were to be reinvested by fresh purchase of securities, so that the capital of the fund might increase with compound interest. Hence, the fund was in no way

¹ Calcutta Gazette, *op. cit.*

² Letter to the Court (Secret Dept.), 16th March, 1798, *op. cit.*

designed to lighten the immediate anxiety of the general treasury in respect of the discharge of the debt and its burden. On the other hand, the utility of such a fund was quite illusory.¹

2. To revert to the actual working of the sinking fund in India, we find that it operated down to the year 1808-09, when redemption of the capital of public debt was effected up to the amount of £ 4,038,696, composed of £ 3,412,430 in Bengal and £ 626,266 in Madras. In addition, it redeemed a certain amount of floating debt.²

The following are the capital amount of public debt bearing interest that were redeemed in the respective years :—³

	Bengal.	Madras.
	£	£
1798-99	177,843	...
1799-1800	209,736	22,534
1800-01	270,751	50,090
1801-02	335,072	61,916
1802-03	400,978	140,789
1803-04	451,295	100,065
1804-05	251,251	113,841
1805-06	234,490	99,821
1806-07	380,968	37,210
1807-08	401,390	...
1808-09	296,656	...
Total	£ 3,412,430	£ 626,266

The above table supports the statement made beforehand that the sinking fund in Bengal did not operate later than

¹ For full criticism, *vide infra*.

² Commons Committee, 3rd Report, 1811.

³ Calculated from App. 7, Commons Committee, 3rd Report, 1811.

1808-09 and that the institution in Madras stopped business from 1807. The account of the sinking fund was formally closed in February, 1810, until circumstances would render it expedient that the Commissioners of the sinking fund should renew their business. The main reason of the closure of the fund was the contemporary pressure on the home finance on account of the great demand for bills upon the Court. At the same time the high premium upon government securities made the purchases of the commissioners unprofitable and the operation of the fund unnecessary.¹

The account of the sinking fund in Bengal, from its origin to its suspension, was as follows :—²

	Sa. Rs.
Amount received by bills on the Court ...	2,59,27,815
Amount received as interest on securities purchased	1,10,93,673
Amount of gain upon purchase of securities at a discount	14,50,385
	Sa. Rs. 3,84,71,888

Deduct :

Principal of securities purchased	2,94,17,500
Interest accrued on ditto at the time of purchase	10,11,960
	3,04,29,460
Balance, in favour of the commission on the 30th April, 1809, proposed to be transferred to the credit of <u>account current London</u> ...	80,42,428

Thus of the total amount redeemed, £3,007,627 was received by bills on the Court; and as an effect of the institution no less than £168,246 accrued to the treasury as gain.

¹ Bengal Financial Consn., 23rd March, 1810, No. 9; Letter to the Court of Directors (Fincl. Dept.), 22nd Oct., 1810.

² Letter of the Accountant General, 19th Feb., 1810; Bengal Fincl. Consn., 23rd March, 1810.

The sinking fund in Bengal seems to have sufficiently justified the purpose for which it was instituted. It brought down the average rate of discount on the public securities—possibly in conjunction with other factors—as the following calculation will show :—

	Capital value of securities purchased in Bengal. ¹	Amounts of profit derived from discount. ²	Average percentage of discount calculated.
	£	£	p.c.
1798-99	177,843	28,011	15·7
1799-1800	209,736	20,590	9·8
1800-01	270,751	30,820	11·4
1801-02	335,072	35,873	10·7
1802-03	400,978	22,409	7·3
1803-04	451,295	5,868	1·3
1804-05	251,251	1,386	·6
1805-06	234,490	5,572	2·4
1806-07	382,968	3,220	·8
1807-03	401,390	6,390	1·3
1808-09	296,656	2,178	·8

Reviewing the operation of the sinking fund on a later occasion, the Government of Bengal wrote in 1812 :—

“ Although what has been termed the sinking fund at this Presidency, was not supported by any distinct and independent source of revenue, the institution of the fund was made to answer a very useful purpose. The purchases of the commissioners, by creating a regular demand for the Government paper and by taking off that portion of it which was forced occasionally into the market for sale by the necessities of the proprietors, had the effect of maintaining the credit and

¹ *Op. cit.*

² Commons Paper, 318 of 1812. The current rupee has been converted at the rate of 2s.

value of the public securities generally and probably tended to enable the Government to negotiate their loans on more favourable terms than would otherwise have been practicable.”¹

3. Encouraged by the results of this sinking fund and being aware of its efficacy several other sinking funds were established in Bengal as temporary measures, the history of which may be recorded here.²

Scarcely two years and a half were allowed to elapse from the close of the first sinking fund, when another fund was brought into operation. Towards the latter part of 1812, when for certain reasons the credit of public securities was at a low ebb in the market, and as at the same time the Government had to float a new loan in order to redeem certain debts in Bombay, the Accountant General again suggested in August that the sinking fund be re-established in Bengal.³ Accordingly, on the 29th August, 1812, a resolution was adopted to that effect, and commissioners were immediately appointed.⁴

The object of the new fund, like that of its predecessor, was to raise public credit with a view to promote the success of the financial operation already referred to.⁵ In a letter to the Court of Directors it was intimated that the very circumstance of a public fund being established for the purchase of Government paper was likely to bring forward private capital in competition with it which might otherwise

¹ Financial Despatch, 17th Aug., 1812.

² In 1808, immediately after the suspension of the purchases by the Commissioners of the first sinking fund, Mr. Rickards, a civil servant of Bombay, suggested another sinking fund. But the proposal did not materialise. For all documents connected with this see Commons Paper, 306 of 1812-13.

³ Letter of the Accountant General, 20th August, 1812; Bengal Fincl. Consn., 29th August, 1812, Nos. 16-18.

In January 1812, the Accountant General suggested that the sinking fund be revived, but for certain reasons, which made it impracticable, the proposal was dropped.

⁴ *Ibid.*, No. 18.

⁵ Financial Despatch, 5th Sept., 1812.

be withheld from the market. The competition by itself would also tend to enhance the value of securities generally.¹

Unlike its predecessor, this sinking fund was to be supplied with cash from a portion of the subscriptions received on account of the new 6 per cent. loan.² Thus the very principle of supporting a fund of this nature out of loan was objectionable by itself, though not so very prejudicial in this particular case; for in this case the amount so raised and appropriated for redemption through the sinking fund did not bear any higher charge than that borne by the debt to be redeemed.

This time the object of the sinking fund appears to have been attended with doubtful success. Credit in the market did not improve to any great extent.³ Discount on the government securities was on a fluctuating scale; it sometimes rose to an unprecedented amount and sometimes fell to a very low figure.⁴

The very plan of its working out of loan instead of surplus, proved how difficult it was to operate the fund. As in course of time, the Supreme Government in Bengal experienced a great deal of difficulty in assigning funds for investments on account of the home treasury, appropriation for the sinking fund was reduced by degrees. The sums allotted for this purpose became very limited.⁵ On the 23rd of August, 1813, Mr Egerton, the Accountant General of Bengal wrote: "As the operation of the sinking fund are to a very inconsiderable extent and the funds provided for their purpose are raised by incurring other debt at the same rate of interest, I take the liberty to recommend that instead of

¹ *Ibid.*

² *Ibid.*

³ See Dr. Hamilton's criticism of Dr. Price's Theory of the efficacy of a sinking fund, supported by loan, in raising credit.

⁴ Financial Despatches, 19th Dec., 1812, and 6th Feb. 1813.

⁵ Financial Despatch, 6th Feb. 1813, sec. 24.

carrying these purchases to separate head on the General Book, I may be authorised to close the transactions on the books of each year.....”¹ In reply, the required permission was given.² But as it was not thought to be prudent to suspend altogether the purchases of the commissioners—for their sudden discontinuance would lead to an unfavourable effect upon the credit of the public securities—the sinking fund in Bengal was allowed to linger on without any sign of life, while the appropriation of the fund had been “reduced to a trifling sum.”³ Towards the beginning of 1814, the operation of the fund was, however, entirely discontinued.⁴ The amount redeemed by the sinking fund during this short lease of life did not perhaps exceed 30 lakhs of sicca rupees (*i.e.*, £348,000).⁵

4. In 1817 another sinking fund was created for the same reason as had led to the institution of funds of this kind in the past, *viz.*, depreciation of public credit.⁶ This time there was no particular plan for its operation, good or bad. The fund was allocated from cash balance, independent of the ultimate surplus or deficit. Two years later, when there was an unusual abundance of money in Calcutta and the public securities were bearing little or no discount, its function was again postponed until change of circumstances would necessitate its revival.⁷

¹ Bengal Fincl. Consn., 28th Aug., 1813, No. 2.

² *Ibid.*, No. 3.

³ Financial Despatches, 30th Oct. and 18th Dec., 1813.

⁴ Financial Despatch, 5th Feb., 1814.

⁵ *Vide* enclosure to Financial Despatch, 27th March, 1813. This amount (30 lakhs) was said to be redeemed during 1812-13. It is strange to note that in the Parliamentary return of Indian accounts (Commons Paper, 334 of 1814) it has been noted that the purchases made by the Commissioners of the Sinking Fund amounted to Sa. Rs. 21,15,537 during 1812-13. Neither in the MS. document nor in the Parliamentary return of the next year is anything stated as to whether any amount was redeemed during 1813-14.

⁶ Bengal Fincl. Consns., 9th May, 1817, Nos. 8 and 9.

⁷ Bengal Fincl. Consn., 10th March, 1819 No. 5.

After lapse of nearly two weeks, the sinking fund was renewed, being encouraged by a new circumstance.¹ The Court of Directors, according to the spirit of the late Charter Act enjoining that the surplus commercial profit of the Company in England should be applied in reduction of the principal of the debt in India,² remitted to Bengal a certain amount of treasure for the required object.³ The sinking fund was therefore revived to give effect to the wishes of the Directors.

At this time a new issue arose which limited for a time the operations of the fund and which ultimately changed the administrative personnel and methods of its operation. When the amount of treasure was sent to India to alleviate the burden of public debt, there was no definite instruction on the procedure to be adopted. A question arose as to whether any portion of the sum could be subscribed to any new loan if the exigencies of the public service should require such assistance.⁴ The Accountant General of Bengal held that as the surplus revenue in India was inadequate to repay the charges defrayed from commercial funds in England, a portion of the profits forwarded to India should either be appropriated for investment in India or for subscription to new loans that would be required. He expressed his doubt as to how far the remittance in question could be considered applicable, with ultimate profit, to the discharge of the debt so long as the surplus revenue of India should be insufficient

¹ Bengal Fincl. Consns., 28th March, 1819, Nos. 6-7.

² 53 Geo. III, cap. 155, sec. 57.

³ Financial Despatches, 30th Sept., and 14th Oct., 1818.

The amounts of consignment of bullion to India in aid of the sinking fund were valued at £1,000,537 in 1818-19 and at £166,302 in 1819-20. In the year 1821-22, another instalment of £1,500,000 was directed to be advanced to the sinking fund (*vide* App. Nos. 3 (3) to the Commons Report, 1832, II Finance).

⁴ Financial Despatch, 8th Oct., 1819, S. 8.

to defray the charge in England.¹ But as the instruction of the Court, in a despatch of the 2nd April, 1819, was for strict appropriation of the fund to the reduction of the principal of the outstanding debt, a new commission with a change of personnel was created. This body was described as the "Commissioners for the Reduction of the Debts of the Hon'ble Company in India."

The policy which the Commissioners pursued was to buy up the securities from the market, regardless of the discount or premium that they carried. In 1820, the disadvantage of redeeming the public debt in this manner became evident when the public securities were above par.² In August, therefore, on the recommendation of Mr. Sherer, the Commissioners were authorised to appropriate the funds in paying off the registered debt by advertisement rather than in purchasing securities from the market.³

Henceforward, the sinking fund in Bengal under its new garb turned out to be a permanent organ for the management of public loans—their issue, transfer, conversion and actual discharge of principal as well as interest. There was no permanent plan envisaged to bring down the public debt in India.

5. This is, in short, the annals of the sinking funds in Bengal during the early history of Indian public debt. Looking back into the course of their career, it is evident that the prior sinking funds were regarded, to put it in the words of Mr. Sherer, an Accountant General of Bengal, as official arrangements intended to uphold public credit rather than as positive plans for liquidation of public debt.⁴ In the last phase of their

¹ Letter of the Accountant General, 15th Sept., 1819; *vide* Bengal Fincl. Consn., 18th Oct., Nos. 4-6.

² Financial Despatch, 21st April, 1820.

³ Financial Despatch, 25th Aug., 1820.

⁴ Bengal Fincl. Consn., 9th May, 1817.

career, the commissioners constituted merely a department of the office of the State to execute its debt operations.

5. Looking back to these early experiments with sinking fund in India, we find that the first fund erred in many ways, by the very principle of its purpose and its management. When it came into existence in 1798, the financial world had not yet had sufficient experience in managing sinking funds. Half-hearted experiments had been going on for over three quarters of a century in the United Kingdom. Frequent raids upon these funds and the continued diversion of their resources from their legitimate objects failed to make the financial world in any way wiser. After the termination of the American War, reduction of their public debt received the particular attention of the British public. At this period, during the seventies and eighties of the eighteenth century, Dr. Richard Price propounded his theory of sinking fund, which has since become notorious. The sum and substance of Dr. Price's principle was that periodical contributions to an established commission, even in years of financial deficits, would, by repeated investment, accumulate at compound interest. A sinking fund, growing thus at a geometric ratio, would enable in course of time to wash off any amount of public debt. This theory of Dr. Price captivated the imagination of the economists and financiers alike, till the Scotch mathematician, Dr. Robert Hamilton, pointed out its shallowness.¹

On the basis of this theory, Pitt formed his sinking fund of 1786 (26 Geo. III, cap. 31). The American sinking fund of 1790 was guided by this theory of Dr. Richard Price. Sufficient evidence cannot be found to state definitely whether the propounders of Indian sinking fund in 1798 placed before them the theory of Dr. Price as their ideal. But from all appearance it was practically English. A commission was

¹ Vide P. Datta, Growth of Public Debt, in the *Calcutta Review*, July, 1932.

created ; the contributions to it were invested in the securities of its own Government by regular purchase from the market. The interests received from the fund were re-invested. As in its methods of administration, so in its objects, the Indian sinking fund appears to be dominated by the theories of Dr. Price. Besides wiping out the debt in a cheap and effectual manner by such fund, Dr. Price had maintained that by its operations fluctuations in stocks would be prevented, and public credit would always be kept firm and flourishing. In one respect, however, the method of Indian sinking fund differed from the English fund as instituted by Mr. Pitt ; for the contributions came from the Court of Directors.

All the sinking funds in Bengal decidedly proved to be misnomers, as did the contemporary funds in other countries. But due to its source of contribution, different from that advocated by Dr. Price in years of financial deficits, the first sinking fund of 1798 amply justified certain of its objects. Though the capacity of a sinking fund to maintain credit, if it be fed out of borrowing, has been exploded, the sinking fund of 1798 really regulated the fluctuations of discount rates on public securities and thus alleviated the difficulties in the money market to the great relief of trade and commerce. It enabled the Government in a quiet and imperceptible way to afford relief in times of emergency in a manner advantageous to itself and profitable to the community. For similar reason the sinking fund experiments of the Marquis of Hastings were successful in mitigating fluctuations in the prices of securities. But simply because the second sinking fund was maintained out of loan, in a line with Dr. Price's advocacy, it proved to be a total failure.

P. DATTA

MERRY-GO-ROUND IN WINTER

Gone are the tunes of a summer's day,
Silent the laughter of children at play.
The horse has ceased its rocking,
The lion's mane has lost its flair,
The zebra's stripes are shocking,
And sad the tiger's lonely stare.
The whirling tubs no longer spin
With-merry tots held fast within ;
Wind worn their wood of purple hue,
Mist marred their decorations, too.
To the sound of sweet Calliope's playing,
None asks, " Oh, may I ride once more ? "
For the paint on idle gear is graying,
The jingle and jangle is o'er.
All in the air of winter is stilled,
Age mourns the dreams that children build.

VIOLA IRENE COOPER

THE PATHWAY TO PERFECTION

“ In this broad earth of ours,
Amid the measureless, grossness, and the slag
Encased and safe within its central heart
Nestles the seed—Perfection.”

The expression “ perfection ” has numerous definitions—and may be summarised in the all-embracing term “ that which is incapable of being improved upon ”—Truth Supernal is synonymous, as it were entwined, so conjointly in their applied meaning work in harmony together.

Now, it has often been said—perhaps with undue consideration to so important a subject—that “ Perfection ” to the finite mind is unattainable—moreover, that, even if it were so, in its application there would be no finality and in qualification and support of the theory man is quite unable to produce even one thing of that ideal standard.

We will carefully search into this fascinating subject-matter and shall find that the first question that arises is : Who would have the temerity to designate himself judge—to discriminate—to demarcate—draw the definite line to determine this or that is *not* Perfection ?

All products are Creator-made ; man cannot produce in actuality, but nevertheless he can make—mould, and improve, finish and potentially perfect that which he undertakes to do ; his particular mission lies, as it were, as a worker in God's vineyard, for not one article can he form and bring into being without first going to the prime Source, his Creator's earth, for the requisite materials of which to gather some portion, whether it be trees (for wood) ; mould, clay, gravel, stone, slate, iron, copper, gold, silver ; coal for heating requirements, and water for intermixing or cleansing purposes, in order that they

may, individually or collectively, fashion—in accordance to man's varied degrees of acquired skill or excelled craftsmanship—into buildings pretentious to the palatial, engineering minute to the colossal, clothing coarse to the finest fabric, ornaments crude unto the beautiful, articles numerous in varied degrees of quality and so on.

In one of our museums there stands a pair of superb, exquisitely moulded and carved vases—in material value possibly priceless—said to have been brought from China. Who shall say that in the production of this particular kind they are not perfection—for who can prove that the like could ever be excelled or even produced again? Furthermore, for example, let us take the dovetail part of a cabinet of first order workmanship—an art in itself; nothing has been attempted to even improve upon this unique, satisfactory method of joining parts together, or probably ever will be. Possibly herein lies perfection in this particular branch of a part of a whole.

It is stated that “A good beetle will work for days and nights with only a short time of rest in between, kneading, chiselling, and finally polishing till she has the perfect round standing there in the dark. Then she makes a tidy hole in the top and deposits her eggs but even after the curves appear absolute to a magnifying glass, she still continues her work of Perfection, completing and polishing her sphere.”

We observe in this tiny creature or insect “Perfection” demonstrated—yet man, God's greatest intellectualist, will say, the human cannot aspire to that supreme standard.

We will next take the all-glorious rose—which 'tis said that the Egyptians were the first to cultivate and devote to the God of Silence—Horus, or Harpocrates—and thus it became the emblem of reserve and faithfulness.

Botanists inform us that we have alone nineteen species of native roses in England. The cultivated rose generally is a larger and fuller kind obtained through perseverance of the gardener—nurtured, strengthened and by skilful crossing we get

wonderful examples; yet we are informed that if their cultivation is neglected, remains untended by absence of scientific treatment for certain periods, according to their kind, they will gradually but assuredly return again unto their common native species—the dog-rose, wild briar, etc.

Here again we observe indisputably demonstrated the working of the great Divine *through the agency of man* to further and potentially perfect some part of His material creation which He has ordained to be.

E. Gibson Cheyne, in her writings, "The Voice of One Crying," says: "God can do nothing without man's co-operation; He can make no man good against his will; can only manifest Himself—finally and fully in some radiant human being. He cannot give the world a message unless a man is ready to be a prophet—and accept the reward of a prophet. He needs man from each dawn to night, each night to dawn—Man is part of God and God part of him."

Voltaire, so far back as 1750, could see the truth of the possibility of attainment to perfection, for he said: "Perfection walks slowly—she requires the hand of Time."

Now, as to what is termed the higher calling of man—his ethical essence and attributes—and to that end.

If we set out to find Perfection we may complete our quest sooner than we anticipate—there is no need for the individual to wait, for he may become an example in himself. If we wish to see a better or perfect world we must have better or perfect people—there is no alternative.

To bring this into being we shall have to train our thoughts to a different order of things—a vision perfect; and in its gradual unfoldment we shall come to the conclusion that it was in man's *opinion*, in his turmoil and unprogressed condition, difficult to receive so divine a truth.

Grace Rhys says: "Think of us men, what we are, *how nourished*—by what slaughters and captivities of living things; how *coarse* and fierce we are in many of our ways."

Nevertheless, the Scripture clearly reminds him of his duty to his Creator—not the impossible, but the possible—the sureness of reaching the Peak Empyrean—if *he will but seek*, for it is written “*Be ye perfect* as your Father in Heaven is perfect.” Matt. V. 48.

Further instances we find in :—

Gen. VII. 1. “ Walk before me and be perfect.”

II Cor. XIII. 11. “ Be perfect.”

Phil. III. 15. “ As many as be perfect thus minded.”

II Tim. III. 17. “ Man of God may be perfect.”

Heb. VI. 1. “ Let us go on unto perfection,”

James I. 4. “ Let patience have her perfect work, that ye may be perfect.”

“ Divine Education is that of the Kingdom of God : it consists in acquiring divine Perfections, and this is true education ; for in this estate man becomes the centre of divine appearance, the manifestation of the words.”—Elizabeth Herreck.

According to Church History perfectibility is a generic designation for any Christians holding the doctrine that Perfection is attainable in this life. This doctrine is often supported by a reference to I Cor. II. 6.

Many Divines have held that by contemplation and devotion the soul becomes so united to God that all that is sinful in it is annihilated, and it participates in the *Divine Perfection*. This was held by the Molinists, the Jansenists and other religionists and mystics.

If we believe there is no finality—then we doubt unrestrictedly in the Supreme Being as the finality, and Perfection—The Absolute.

We unhesitatingly claim to be emanations of that great Power, *i.e.* the verity must necessarily be impregnated in each human being, of either sex or colour—and to be revealed through the medium of the Esoteric—the Light within.

One of the principles of the Teachings of Theosophy (God and Wisdom) is that inasmuch as all mankind are of the Divine Spirit each has inherent the seed of Perfection.

We as spiritual entities, though with outward physical envelopes conforming to Natural Laws, while in earthly Sphere, are given the opportunity to develop and increase that Light unto "Perfection"—we fully realise that the mind of man is the cause of bondage and *release*.

Bahram, the unique Persian literary critic, says :—

"Every moment of our lives is a Divine event. If we do not make it so, that is not the Creator's fault. He has given us the means to Perfection. Wilfully we wound ourselves, knowingly we cover our eyes. Think of this enchanting world we live in; think of the Divine Power vested in us to make it fine.

"Think of God's Creation of life—that superb example and never-ending miracle, set before our very eyes day by day, hour by hour, minute by minute, which we have but to apprehend in order to establish the Kingdom of Heaven on Earth."

Chesterfield, statesman and author, said : "If we could achieve the attainment of doing all to the glory of God, we would not willingly offer to Him that which costs us naught, but would rather be willing up to our power, yea, beyond our power, to make all we do perfect."

Next, let us visualise from our present shadowed standpoint—glance down an imaginary pathway, at the termination of which we observe a great Illumination—" 'tis where Imperfection ends and Perfection rules."

We begin to traverse this pathway but to our chagrin and surprise through past narrowness of thought and self-centredness ; we find many difficulties and obstacles of a gross kind beset and impede our progress—it then seems consistent to say : "Perfection is impossible, neither can there be finality—for our mind is clouded and of an undeveloped spiritual condition."

Yet we can seek the path if we will, and press forward onward and upward ; but before we may reasonably expect to do so

we must put ourselves to the ordeal of a crucible test—in a searching manner question our thoughts, works, ways, habits and customs that we countenance and support and their effect individually and collectively upon ourselves and our kind.

“ Every soul once he comes to the fulness of life’s laws, begins the examination of self, and finds there is much to do and much to undo before he can come to the perfection he would fain desire”—for he who wins as a man may often lose as a spirit.

Our first step will divulge to us that the path is one that necessitates the practice of patience ; we are mobile, plastic and impressionable beings and find ’tis the path of self-mastery, of abnegation—that it is better to love than be loved, to forgive where others would condemn, to be gentle where others would be indignant, to have the same composure in censure as in praise, to adopt steadfastness and humility, to foster the spirit of goodwill and fellowship to man, animal and birdkind—reverence the one-ness, dignity and sacredness of life—and in its loving and practical application, refuse to be a co-party to or partake of the slain bodies of the hairy and feathered kind.

“ God giveth life so life is good
As all is good that He has given.
Earth is the vestibule of Heaven.
And so He feeds with Angels’ food (uncarnivorous)
Those in His likeness He has made
That death may find them unafraid.”

Paradise calls for paradise souls, therefore paradise men and women—idealistic in the material. Keep the Ideal ever shining before you, identify yourself with that Ideal, make it real and then you will sorrow at thoughts, words and deeds that stain its purity.

Be ever willing to give the breath of experience—always remembering that the quintessence of self-sacrifice is mulcted in “How much can I give—Not receive ?” fully realising that this

material life is in most part artificial—and unfailingly transient—that these Pearls of the Spirit are without price, never pass away, are factors which memory, the repository of impressions, perceptions and cognition retain for ever—triumphing over so-called death.”

Having accepted the promptings of the Soul and practically applied them he steps further forward in happy confidence, for intuition tells him that he can be the Master of his Destiny and the Captain of his Soul and, by example rather than critic help, show the ‘path’ to others.

He visualises—

“ Nobler modes of Life,
With sweeter manners,
Purer laws,”

and cries aloud, “ Lord, how long ! how long ! ” Then he hears “ Perfection ” reply from the “ Goal of Light.”

Here *can* be reached—for Man is an emanation, an integral part of Him—the perfect Creator, Who is waiting, and has been throughout the ages—century following century, decade after decade, year succeeding year, for man to co-operate and work in unionism with Him to bring into being His Kingdom on Earth. “Perfection” is mankind’s destiny—individually. Disassociate yourself with Imperfections, voice and labour for their cessation, adopt the Spiritual pearls, through which you will receive a vision clear unto transparency and the true purpose of life shall be revealed and manifested in you.

You will never be lonely, for God will have claimed you for Himself. Again, take heed of the Christ’s message :—

Be ye Perfect as your Father in Heaven is perfect.”

HENRY J. BAYLIS

BALLOON MAN

He whistles the children along the street,
The waifs of the city to come and buy
His airy baubles that bob and greet
With gaudy colors the ravished eye ;

A piper who holds in his grimy hand
Dreams that sway from a tiny string,
Bubbles of magic from Samarkand,
Purple delights to joy a king,

Dreams for sale in the dusty town,
Purple of Tyre and silver of Ind,
Dreams that forever bob up and down
As feathery light as the sunset wind.

O dreams, O scurry of little feet,
O whistling rover drifting by,
O blown dust sifting the squalid street,
O baubles bobbing against the sky,

There is nothing so rare the whole world over
As a sickle moon, and a night in Spring,
And youth in the heart, a whistling rover,
And dreams that sway from a silken string.

WADE OLIVER

HINDU PROSTITUTION IN BENGAL

Debadasis or immoral temple women are unknown in Bengal proper. Puri and Gauhati are the nearest places where they are to be found. Generally Hindu prostitutes form a caste by birth or adoption. It is to be remembered that the caste of Vaisnavas in Bengal proper and of Bairagis in Chattisgarh can be adopted by Hindus irrespective of the castes they are born in, unless very low. In Calcutta, a Brahman was known to have adopted the Methar caste. Hindu women of this class, whether by birth or adoption, accept their social or extra-social position as the fruit or outcome of sins committed in a previous incarnation to be expiated by calmly bearing their social degradation. The touch of a woman of this class defiles food and water, however high her caste by birth. By contact with her the floor of a dwelling house needs purification by washing with cow-dung dissolved in water—such is her position in general Hindu society. This degradation is evidently intended to be a protection of domestic purity by showing the social misery attendant on it. Their post-mortem welfare depends on pupilage of a particular class of Brahman, on acts of charity, visiting places of pilgrimage, specially Brindaban and Navadwip, bathing in the Ganges, building temples and other similar acts, esteemed as piety. It is to be added that, under the Hindu Law until recently current, a special rule of inheritance was applied to the prostitute class giving preference to daughters over sons as heirs and excluding relations, not belonging to that class.¹

¹ Sir Gurudas Banerjee's Hindu Law of Marriage and Stridhan, 3rd Edition, pp. 463-467 (1913), pp. 407, *et seq.*, and also see 5th Edition (1929), pp. 458 *et seq.*

Orthodox Hindu society makes it the exclusive privilege of this class of women to sing and dance before Thakurs or sacred images on festive occasions and singing hymns at ceremonies ending periods of mourning (*srādh*). In the ceremony of first home-coming into a newly built dwelling house, the presence of at least one prostitute is necessary. The sight of a prostitute by one setting out on a journey is deemed propitious (*Siva Jātrā*). The use of a pinch of earth from the entrance to a brothel in sanctifying the image of goddess Durga is well known. Many distinguished women of this class are known to have retired to Navadwip and devoted their lives to acts of piety such as are open to them under prevalent usages.

Hindu women of this class specially in Calcutta, as moral justification for the life they lead, go through the ceremony of Mock Marriage. It will be useful to subjoin a few extracts from a paper dealing with "Mock Marriage :"

"In one form of such marriage the bridegroom is a degraded or pretended Brahman who goes through the form of marriage observed among the higher castes, for the usual fee of Rs. 5 and the nether garment, called *dhuti*, and the upper one called *chadar*. He never sees his bride after the ceremony is concluded and departs with silent, if not express, consent to his bride's subsequent career of sin and shame in the world's eye."

"A girl is initiated into the profession by marriage with a god. In the case of idol already established for public worship the ceremony is quite simple. It consists in the officiating priest's placing vermilion powder on the parting of the girl's hair just above the forehead from a receptacle previously placed on the idol's foot. A fee is paid to the priest for the service. If the idol be a private one the regular ceremony is performed, the priest uttering on the idol's behalf the *mantras* or formulas prescribed by the Shastric ritual on the part of the bridegroom. In this latter form, upon accidental destruction

of the idol, the surviving wife has to abandon all marks of widowhood ; the vermilion is rubbed out and the left wrist bared of the iron wristlet. In all other respects her life continues its even course. In the other form where the idol is public the risk of widowhood is removed."

"The ceremonies described are evidently intended to preserve the religious purity of the whole sphere of prostitution. The consent of the human or the silence of the inanimate husband justifies the action of the prostitute and her patrons. The husband-god dwells in every male heart as its ruler. Marriage with him is marriage with every man. Thus prostitution is taken as a bringer of sanctification and not sin into the world. Earth scooped out of a brothel has its use in some forms of religion, the prostitute being apparently regarded as a social protective against male propensity for evil."¹

The only Western institution that has any resemblance to the Hindu prostitute caste is the Turf Club. Race-gambling like all other forms of gambling is not recognised by Law, but Turf Club helps the gambler who wins to realise his claim against the loser. The defaulter is excluded from further gambling. Judges who cannot recognise race gambling in their Courts administer Turf Clubs as individuals. Christian charities close their hands against Turf Club gifts which civic charities receive with gratitude.

Is it difficult to understand that in existing circumstances removal by Law of a child from her natural or adoptive mother of the class mentioned should be resented by her as unjust interference with her religion and resisted by expensive litigation ? Costs of litigation are often met out of refreshment allowance or *Jalpāni* received by such mothers from men desirous of securing for immoral purposes immature girls when they attain maturity. Smallness of child-birth among women of this class may have a scientific explanation. But there is

¹ From the Journal and Proceedings, Asiatic Society of Bengal (New Series), Vol. XXII, 1926, No. 6, pp. 322-23.

no doubt that it is an incentive for adoption of infant girls, either foundlings or willingly parted with by their mothers and relatives and even small girls friendless or unprotected. Women, not *declassé*, to hide their shame in social obscurity give birth to children in some hospital or in holy places like Navadwip, Benares or Brindadan. Male children are disposed of by small payments to Methars or Murdafarashes (hireling assistants at cremation ceremonies). And sometimes they find protection in Christian foundling institutions. But a girl child is sought after most eagerly and earnestly by women of the town of a particular class. There is another source of recruitment in Birbhum, Bankura and Midnapore, comparatively poorer Districts of Bengal. A considerable portion of the Hindu inhabitants of these Districts have usually to purchase brides. The price is said to be Rs. 100 for every year of the prospective bride's life. Most of the men desirous of marriage are labourers, hand-workers or of a slightly superior class. It takes them long years to lay by the necessary price for their brides who are therefore very often left child-widows. Women of sufficient means belonging to the class referred to take them in adoption even on payment of small sums to their relatives or protectors. These are some of the ways in which the numerical strength of this class is maintained.

Does not the conclusion seem justified that prostitution is strongly condemned by Hindu Society but is there any sufficient condemnation of that class by Hindu Religion? One instance may be cited from the Ramayan and the Mahabharat. During a period (Adi Kanda, Adhyay 9 *et seq.*, Banaparya, Adhyay 110, etc.) of severe famine the only remedy placed before the king by Brahman sages was the performance of the sacred rite by Rishya Sringa, a pure youth leading a strictly ascetic life in the forest hermitage of his father, the sage Ribhandaka. A cluster of women of this class headed by one of mature years under Royal commission attracted

Rishya Sringa away from his solitary asceticism to marry a princess and relieve the kingdom of dire famine by performance of a mystic sacrifice which none but he could perform. "Kāma Sūtram" is the earliest completest and most authoritative treatise in Sanskrit on sexology, having been written in the Maurya period. The author Vātsyāyana declares that the work was undertaken at the instance of the highest order of metropolitan women of the class mentioned (Nāgarikānām gaṇikānām preranāt).

The only class of Bengali Brahmins who accept prostitutes as disciples are the Goswamis of Khardah, the descendants of the honoured Nityananda Prabhu, the intimate associate of Sri Chaitanya Maha Prabhu. In most part of East Bengal the term "Vaisnavi" or women of the Vaisnava sect is applied to prostitutes in polite parlance.

In the Sakta system of Hinduism, prostitution is not recognised as a speciality. It recognises in addition to the form of marriage generally current and called Brahma, marriages which may be temporary with widows irrespective of caste. Instances are known of Sakta Theologians of high position marrying Musalman wives in the Saiva form prescribed in the Tantras (Maha Nirvan Tantram). Its English translation is by the well known scholar under the pseudonym Arthur Avalon.

In conclusion attention may be recalled to the question :— Is there any Hindu religious condemnation of prostitution or is the condemnation though extremely severe, purely social?

MOHINI MOHAN CHATTERJI

THE BUGLE CALLS

The curtain falls and the lights burn low
The Past is finished, we are done with that show
We will find to-morrow waiting outside the door
At the first street-turning, where fresh winds blow.

We are well equipped and we are rested now,
Those who have no mounts will like tramping well
The Earth is yet fair tho' some are burdened sore
Come nights by the road there will be tales to tell.

Life is never worn threadbare ; I tell you, No.
You greybeards there, you have seen nothing yet,
And Baldpate you will sound the marching note.
We travel far who follow this new sunset.

What Ho, there is grace for him who craves rest ;
Rest you, brother, and if winter should come
Build you a shack and be sung by the fire.
He also serves who rears dream castles at home.

But most of us go 'tis the way we are made
We will bridge the rivers and tunnel the hills
We will melt the ore and string cobwebs of steel
For the urge within us this our great need fills.

Mayhap we shall punish a traitor or a coward lash
For the weak hath a law and high right a need
To quibble with wrong is not the way of free men
Nor is pillage condoned by the thin-skinned breed.

No man shall be afraid who journeys with us
Who helps break the road to to-morrow's morn
Thus we plotted the game in aeons long gone
What Ho ; for to-morrow, our bugles call unto days
unborn.

DAVID W. CADE

JOHN GAY

The time is late in the year 1732—December 4th to be precise ; the place, that fashionable quarter of London known as Burlington Gardens. There was always a mild kind of excitement there for the average Londoner, for any day one could see handsome equipages roll up to the door of a stately house, Lord and Lady Such-a-One alight and, the cynosure of all curious eyes, pay their call upon their private friends, a minister of state, or some court favourite. Ladies of fashion were no uncommon sight in that part ; every afternoon they could be seen setting off for the park or the public walks, every evening coming home in their chairs from Drury Lane or the Haymarket. The mere tradesman from Cheapside looked on approvingly and enjoyed this little piece of romance. After all, it was but a small episode, an inconsiderable distraction in a somewhat prosaic life ; but the ladies and gentlemen took it more philosophically. To them there was nothing particularly interesting in it ; it was just part of the daily round, and at the bottom of their hearts (though they would never have dared to admit it) they would have given anything to live for one week the unconventional, care-free life of the "cit" ; to be rid, just for a while, of the tyrannical necessity of sitting out an Italian opera and gushing forth hypocritical praise of a performance of which they had actually never understood a single word. And their friends knew they had not, and they knew their friends had not ; but it would never have done for either party to admit it.

Yes, there was always excitement of a kind in Burlington Gardens, but on this occasion there was unusual excitement. An abnormal number of coaches drove up—first one, then another, sometimes two together—and they all stopped at one door. The house of the Duke and Duchess of Queensbury

was in mourning. All the coaches had come on the same errand; all the occupants looked glum, and the servant that opened the door to admit them spoke in a low voice. The great life of London went on as usual, the mighty heart beat, as it had always beaten for years past; but at Dublin Swift was in a fit of the spleen, feeling apprehensive that some disaster was impending; at Twickenham Pope was overcome with grief for the loss of a valued friend, while behind the drawn curtains in Burlington Gardens lay the mortal remains of John Gay, author of *The Beggar's Opera*.

Gay was dead! The news spread around the town like lightning. It was told at White's, where the wits had gathered to take their coffee and discuss the latest scandal; it was received at Court, where Walpole gave a sigh of relief; it travelled amongst the booksellers of St. Paul's Churchyard and Paternoster Row, and it was whispered in salons and drawing rooms. Gay was dead! One could hardly believe it, for he (or rather his name) had become so much a part of the life of the day that it seemed incredible that he could ever die. Literary London without Gay! It was unimaginable. He had been a strange, droll creature. Born near Barnstaple in 1685, only three years before the Revolution, he had come from an old but decayed Devonshire family. Both his parents died at an early age, and so, when still but a child, he left Barnstaple Grammar School, where he had received the rudiments of his education, and came to London. Here his first employment was that of apprentice to a silk mercer—not by any means a bad trade, so far as trades went in those days. Many a young lad had started worse, and many a man destined later to become famous in literature and upon the stage had entered upon the life of the great world in a similar capacity—to wit, George Lillo and Edward Moore. But Gay was dissatisfied. He could not settle to business; he became depressed in spirits, and “not being able to bear the close confinement of a shop,” as one of

his friends declares; he returned to his native town, and for a while lived with an uncle, the Reverend John Hanmer, a Nonconformist divine. Even this did not suit his disposition. Idleness, to be sure, did not come amiss; but Barnstaple was unspeakably dull after London; so it was not many months before Gay decided that his spirits were "re-instated," and returned to the capital. There was, however, one difficulty before him; he had renounced business once for all. What was he to do for a living? Like many another hard-pressed youth, in his attempts to gain some kind of subsistence, he turned to literature. Not that he had much reason to hope for success in that quarter; but he was always an optimist. He was, too, a devoted disciple of Bacchus, and it was not surprising, therefore, that his first attempt at literary composition was a poem entitled *Wine* (1708) in which he attempted to show that no literary genius was ever nourished on water. Of course, the piece was half humorous, half extravagant; but even though to-day we cannot share the author's bacchanalian sentiments, we can discern behind the piece a jolly, companionable, if slightly irresponsible personality. It is not difficult to understand why Gay so appealed to his age. He had a certain irrepressible *gaiete de coeur*, a *nonchalance* which charmed and delighted all who knew him. It was not a profound age in many ways; nor was Gay profound. He refused to take life seriously.

Life is a jest, and all things show it;

I thought so once, and now I know it.

he once wrote; and from his first entry into the world to the day of his death, he lived up to that motto. Troubles he had in abundance, but he never let them worry him. So long as there were wine, women, and song, what mattered?

Other poems followed. *Rural Sports* appeared in 1713, *The Shepherds' Week*, a mock pastoral, in 1714, *Trivia* in 1716, and two volumes of *Poems on Several Occasions*, bearing the

joint imprint of Lintot and Tonson in 1720. This last work attracted many high and influential subscribers, with the result that the author made well over a thousand pounds on it. Then 1727 saw the *Fables*, and in the next year appeared Gay's masterpiece, *The Beggar's Opera*, which, a wag of the day declared made Gay rich and Rich gay. It took the town by storm. Lavinia Fenton, who played Polly Peachum, became a popular heroine, Gay was feted in all the clubs and coffee-houses, and ballads galore were written on the play, its author, and its heroine. But more of these anon.

On the whole Gay did well from his writings. A big coup now and again would bring him in enough to keep him for some little while in comparative affluence; yet rarely was he free from poverty and debt. One supposes that temperament deal to do with it. He was never cut out for a successful man of letters. No matter how well his works had sold, no matter how much he had gathered in stage royalties, he would never have been one whit the better off, for he had never learned prudence and economy. He simply could not spend wisely or save wisely. He merely dissipated his wealth on self-indulgence and on speculation, with the result that, with all his carelessness and joviality, the shadow of the sponging house was for ever hanging over him, and for the greater part of his life he lived in wretched dependence. When, in 1720, his fortunes were temporarily raised by the success of his collected poems, he might have set himself upon his feet once for all. But his cupidity ruined him. South Sea stock was the rage, and so Gay, thinking to become a small capitalist in a short time, invested every penny he possessed. He saw the shares rise rapidly—so rapidly that he did not know from day to day what his fortune really was. Higher and higher they soared, higher and higher still. All London was in a frenzy of excitement; it was the greatest sensation of the times. Gentlemen sold their estates, ladies pawned their jewels, tradesmen disposed of their business, all to invest in South Sea

stock. Each day's quotation exceeded the previous one, till people began to think that it would never end. Gay was left breathless. How many thousands he was now worth he dared not think. Friends tried to persuade to sell while the price was high ; but no, it might be higher to-morrow. In a week's time he might be worth a few thousand more. With childish cupidity he clung to the shares; then came the turn of the tide. There was a drop ; but still he would not sell. If he hung on a little longer they would probably rise again. Still another drop ; then down, down, down and finally utter failure. And there was poor Gay, reduced from his visionary thousands to the harsh reality of nothing at all, all within a few days.

Indolent, irresponsible, Gay had, all his life, to rely upon the generosity of his friends ; and in spite of his own avowal he had exceptionally liberal ones. Essentially of a convivial, social nature, he was always to be found in company, and amongst the ladies he was a special favourite. He was, too, excessively vain. He loved fine clothes, and nothing delighted him more than to appear in the midst of an assembly in a new braided coat, with a profusion of lace, and a pair of shoes with sparkling buckles which proclaimed the refinement of his taste. Thus it was that on December 18, 1731, Pope wrote to Swift of "one Mr. Gay, an unhappy youth, who writes pastorals during the time of divine service ; whose case is the more deplorable as he hath miserably lavished away all that silver he should have reserved for his soul's health in buttons and loops for his coat." And it was true ; Gay himself admitted it later : but his "unhappy condition" warned him not a jot. By the good offices of his friends, and by continued solicitations for places, he managed to pull himself out of his difficulties for the time being, only to live as recklessly as ever and squander every penny that was meant for his aid.

These were the days when government offices and pensions were handed about indiscriminately by the party in power. Men of letters, often of no confessed abilities, and almost

invariably with no qualifications whatever for the post they held, were entrusted with affairs of state, directed the governance of the realm, or went to represent their country abroad. Addison was a Secretary of State, Fielding a Licensor of Plays and Prior British Ambassador at the Hague. Gay never held any high or lucrative office, but he did occupy several minor posts at different periods of his life. In 1712 he was made a Domestic Steward to the Duchess of Monmouth, while in 1714 he accompanied the Duke of Monmouth to Hanover as Secretary to the British Embassy, returning, however a few months later on the death of the queen. In 1723, after the South Sea failure had left him penniless, he accepted with gratitude the post of Commissioner of State Lotteries at a salary of one hundred and fifty pounds a year (he at least knew something about lotteries and their chances); but when, later in life, he was offered the position of usher to the Princess Louise—a sinecure which would have given him enough to live on and have left him free to indulge himself as he wished—he indignantly rejected it. “I have endeavoured,” he wrote to Swift, “in the best manner I could, to make my excuses by a letter to Her Majesty. So now all my expectations are vanished and I have no prospect but in depending wholly upon myself and my own conduct. As I am used to disappointments, I can bear them, but as I can have no more hopes, I can no more be disappointed, so that I am in a blessed condition.” Swift, who was genuinely indignant and championed his cause in a number of satirical verses, consoled with him and persuaded him that he had an enemy at court, else he would never have been offered such an indignity; under which circumstances, he concluded, he was better outside the court circle than in it. Pope, too, tried to reconcile him to his fate by pointing out the blessings of independence; but he needed no consolation from friends. He may have felt at the time that hope was at an end, but his temperament was such that he could not grieve over his loss for long.

The truth probably was that he expected something bigger ; to be set as guardian—even if only nominal guardian—to a small child, was an insult which his pride and dignity could never brook. If he could not get what he wanted, he would have nothing at all. Now this was just characteristic of Gay ; it was typical of his conduct all his life, from the time when he first entered upon his apprenticeship as a silk-mercier, to the day of his death. He always had a complaint ; he always felt a grudge against his friends and patrons ; he was always allowing chances to slip because they were not just what he wanted, or because they were not good enough for him ; and the result was that he died a dependent of the Duke and Duchess of Queensbury, when he might have been living a care-free, independent life. Yes, he had made many thousands of pounds in his lifetime, and had run through them all as soon as they were made. Yet people loved him, and when he died, he was buried in Westminster Abbey “like a peer of the realm,” as his friend Arbuthnot declared.

To the present-day student of literature Gay is known principally as a dramatist and an opera-writer. This fact is due in some measure, no doubt, to the recent revivals of his great *chef d'oeuvre* at the Lyric Theatre, Hammersmith, by Sir Vigel Playfair, and the crowds which flocked to see it then, and the applause which it invariably elicited, are ample proof that its charm has decayed no whit since the eighteenth century. But in his own day Gay was equally well-known as a poet. Indeed, in 1730 he considered he had a better title to the laureateship than Colley Cibber ; and so he had, for before *The Beggar's Opera* had made Gay rich and Rich gay, ladies and gentlemen were reading and admiring his verses. *Rural Sports* is a delightful poem of English country life, which nothing of its age can excel. In spite of the fact that, with the exception of the first few years of his life, he was town-bred, Gay had an intimate knowledge of the country ; and he loved it, too. He may not be a great nature-poet like

Wordsworth, nor even like Lady Winchelsea ; he may not be able to boast any nature-philosophy, but he had a certain knack of creating in a few telling lines the true country atmosphere, and this it is which gives his rural poetry its charm. It was a simple, unambitious, child-like love of the country scene that inspired it, and there is a tender *nâiveté* about it all ; for Gay was himself *nâïve*. True, the hurry and bustle, the high life and finery of the town appealed to him strongly, while even the more lowly aspects of it did not pass him by unheeded, but he could find joy in the countryside as well ; perhaps not in nature in the more restricted poetic sense of that term, but in the human scene amidst nature. *Rural Sports* is a most interesting record of country occupations and country life. The language is not entirely free from the typical Augustan conventions ; what language then was ? But it is as fresh and vivacious now as when it was first written, revealing a poet of wide sympathies, clear perceptions, and more than the average faculty of expression. Take for instance this little picture of mowing :

When the fresh Spring in all her state is crown'd,
 And high, luxuriant grass o'erspreads the ground,
 The lab'rer with the bending scythe is seen,
 Shaving the surface of the waving green,
 Of all her native pride disrobes the land,
 And meads lays waste before his sweeping hand ;
 While with the mounting sun the meadow glows,
 The fading herbage round he loosely throws ;
 But if some sign portend a lasting show'r,
 Th' experienced swain foresees the coming hour,
 His sunburnt hands the scatt'ring fork forsake,
 And ruddy damsels ply the saving rake ;
 In rising hills the fragrant harvest grows,
 And spreads along the fields in equal rows.

Now no-one, I suppose, would call this great poetry ; but he would be a severe critic indeed who could deny that there

is the genesis of great poetry in it. It equals anything to be found in Duck's *Thresher's Labour* or Bloomfield's *Farmer's Boy*, the one more than twenty and the other over eighty years later; and it certainly could not have been written by one who knew his countryside only from books. There is a ring of life and of reality about it, which links it with the work of such poets as Anne Finch, John Dyer, William Shenstone and Oliver Goldsmith.

Gay was closely interested in life and humanity; that is why so much of his poetry centres around people rather than things, around sights rather than feelings; but there is poetry of another kind in those few lines towards the end of *Rural Sports* in which he describes a sunset at sea:

Far in the deep the sun his glory hides,
A streak of gold the sea and sky divides;
The purple clouds their amber linings show,
And edg'd with flame rolls every wave below:
Here pensive I behold the fading light,
And o'er the distant billow lose my sight.

This is almost great poetry: here the soul of a true artist stands enwrapped before the divine beauty of the universe.

The Shepherd's Week, published by R. Burleigh in 1714, is again, as its title suggests, a poem dealing with the country, but this time written in a strain of parody and mockery. During the Augustan age the pastoral was a favourite form with poets; but it was a debased, debilitated kind of pastoral which they practised, bearing about as much resemblance to its predecessor of the Elizabethan age as did the tragedies of Rowe and Phillips to those of Shakespeare and Marlowe. Practically every poet attempted one or two; Pope wrote four, and none of them entirely lacking in merit when compared with the average work of the kind. But by far the most prolific of these pastoral poets was Ambrose Phillips, famous (or rather notorious) for his baby-verses, which earned

him the name of Numby-Pamby from Henry Carey. Now Phillips' pastorals were the talk of the whole town. They were mawkish, puerile, artificial, both in conception and execution, and portrayed a rather courtly countryside, populated by somewhat sophisticated nymphs and swains (for the pastoral poet never dared to talk of men and women), who did nothing all their lives but love, betray and forsake each other. Of course, they went under the guise of shepherds and shepherdesses, and owned the classic names of Strephon and Chloe, but minding sheep occupied but an infinitesimal part of their lives. Most of them seem to have neglected their charges for the more attractive pastimes of courtship and dalliance. They were strangely intelligent and cultured rustics, too, who could display their polished wit as ingeniously as any court lady or fine gentleman. As it happened, Pope was Phillips' sworn enemy. He was always looking for a chance to mortify him, and he found it in his pastorals. When he held them up to ridicule, Phillips hung up a rod at Button's Coffee House, and threatened to treat the little wasp of Twickenham to a flogging the next time he appeared there; but believing, with a Falstaff, that discretion was the better part of valour, Pope saw that there never was another time. The attack, however, was not relinquished; instead, he persuaded Gay to join in, and the result was *The Shepherd's Week*, written as a burlesque on Phillips' pastorals in particular, and on the pseudo-Shakespearean imitations in general.

"It is my purpose, gentle reader," the author tells us in his proem, or preface, "to set before thee, as it were a picture, or rather lively landscape of thy own country, just as thou mightest see it, didst thou take a walk into the fields at the proper season.....Thou wilt not find any shepherdesses idly piping on oaten reeds, but milking the kine, tying up the sheaves, or if the hogs are astray driving them to their styes. My shepherd gathereth none other nosegays but what

are the growth of our own fields, he sleepeth not under myrtle shades, but under a hedge, nor doth he vigilantly defend his flocks from wolves, because there are none.....For as much as I have mentioned Maister Spencer, soothly I must acknowledge him a bard of sweetest memorial. Yet hath his shepherd's boy at some time, raised his rustick reed to rhimes more rumbling than rural. Diverse grave points hath he also handled of churchly matter and doubts in religion daily arising, to great clerks only appertaining. What liketh me best are his names, indeed right simple and meet for the country, such as Lobbin, Cuddy, Hobbinol, Diggon and others, some of which I have made bold to borrow. Moreover, as he called his eclogues the *Shepherd's Calendar*, and divided the same into twelve months, I have chosen (peradventure not over rashly) to name mine by the days of the week, omitting Sunday or the Sabbath, ours being supposed to be Christian shepherds, are to be then at church worship. Yet further of many of Maister Spencer's eclogues it may be observed; though months they be called, of the said months therein nothing is specified; wherein I have also esteemed him worthy of imitation."

Gay, then, was attempting to bring the pastoral down to the level of actual life; and, be it remembered, his object in doing this was to ridicule it; but strangely enough, like Shenstone, who some years later tried a similar experiment with the same result, the intended burlesque became a really delightful and naturalistic picture of country life, with all its comedy and tragedy, its laughter and its tears. When Gay touched anything like this he simply could not help making it delightful. He was never a really successful satirist or parodist, for the simple reason that on the one hand he could never sustain his indignation long enough to rail effectively, and on the other he had too positive a personality, which he infused into all his works. It is an ironic fact that in everything Gay wrote with a satiric aim, the satire

has been lost in the more permanent (and more attractive) qualities which he gave it; and so it was with *The Shepherd's Week*. We see the village occupations and sports, with the love-making and the quarrels; we hear the village songs, and listen to the gossip; we are introduced to the reapers, the milk-maids, and the haymakers; and all this under that charming aura which only Gay knew how to cast about the life of a rural community. Marion, bemoaning the desertion of her Collin, seeks help of the gipsies, but the result is not quite what she had looked for.

Last Friday's eve, when as the sun was set,
 I, near yon stile, three shallow gipsies met.
 Upon my hand they cast a pouring look,
 Bid me beware, and thrice their heads they shook;
 They said that many crosses I must prove,
 Some in my worldly gain, but most in love.
 Next morn I missed three hens and our old cock,
 And off the hedge two pinner and a smock,
 I bore these losses with a Christian mind,
 And no mishaps could feel while thou wert kind.
 But since, alas! I grew my Collin's scorn,
 I've known no pleasure night, or noon, or morn,
 Help me, ye gipsies, bring him home again,
 And to a constant lass give back her swain.

Then there is a delightful picture of a drunken labourer, singing his tipsy songs on a variety of subjects, ranging from love-stories to pious exhortations. All the maidens throng around him as he proclaims the joys of country life and of hunting; then he changes his note to something more rollicking:

Now he goes on and sings of fairs and shows,
 For still new fairs before his eyes arose.
 How pedlers' stalls with glitt'ring toys are laid,
 The various fairings of the country maid.
 Long, silken laces hang upon the twine,
 And rows of pins and amber bracelets shine;

How the tight lass knives, combs, and scissors spys,
And looks on thimbles with desiring eyes.
Of lott'ries next with tuneful note he told,
Where silver spoons are won, and rings of gold.
The lads and lasses trudge the street along,
And all the fair is crowded in his song,
The mountebank now treads the stage and sells
His pills, his balsams, and his ague spells ;
Now o'er and o'er the nimble tumbler springs,
And on the rope the vent'rous maiden swings.....
For buxom Joan he sung the doubtful strife,
How the shy tailor made the maid a wife.
Then he was seiz'd with a religious qualm,
And on a sudden sung the hundredth psalm.

But after all, whatever we may say of his rural poetry, Gay was a town-bred person, and he showed his zest for town life in his poem *Trivia, or The Art of Walking the Streets of London* (1716), for the copyright of which Lintot paid him forty-three pounds. No-doubt, the piece owes something to Swift's *City Shower* ; it may even have been suggested by it, but that does not detract in any way from its merits as a literary performance. Not that there is anything remarkable about the style. It is written in the usual heroic couplet form, and while it lacks the energy of Dryden, it is wanting also in the correctness of Pope. But Gay's aim was to give verity, and he refused to sacrifice truth to any tricks of writing, however much the conventional technique may have dictated it. *Trivia* throbs with life. With its author we walk the streets of the capital, the poor quarters as well as St. James' ' and the Mall, and as we proceed he points out to us all the sights of eighteenth century London ; not the remarkable and the spectacular, but the little everyday occurrences that many a poet would never have noticed. We are warned to beware of enquiring the way of errand boys, for nothing delights those urchins more than to lead one astray as a practical joke ; then we must keep clear of the powdered beau, or our clothes will

be soiled with the dust from his wig. A shower of rain comes on, and pedestrians take shelter in shops. When it abates, and the streets are alive once again, along comes a hackney coach, and *splash*!—a shower of muddy water has gone over madam's dress. We pass along bye-streets, "where brewers down steep cellars stretch the rope"; a butcher's boy slides up with a basket on his head; accidentally he brushes against a finely dressed pedestrian, a hand comes from the basket, and *whisk*!—my gentleman's wig disappears, while the butcher's imp goes on his way whistling. So we spend a day in town with Gay, finishing up at night with all the hurry, bustle, and excitement of a fire. I doubt whether anything quite like *Trivia* is to be found in the whole range of Augustan literature. In one sense it is typical of its time, for its primary interest is in humanity—and humanity of the town at that; but it is full of detailed observation, and the candidness, the simplicity, and the charming intimacy of the style gives it an individuality all its own. It is perfectly natural, and for a poem of the neo-classic age, this in itself was something unusual.

"The best poems of Mr. Gay," declares the author of the *Biographia Dramatica*, "are his fables;" and though we may not be able to share this opinion, most of Gay's contemporaries would certainly have endorsed it. Published in two volumes in 1727, they immediately became popular—so popular, in fact, that they had only two rivals, De Foe's *Robinson Crusoe* and Swift's *Gulliver's Travels*, the last of which had been published in the previous year. Before long they ~~had been translated~~ into most foreign languages, even Urdu and Bengali. To-day it is difficult for us to see the exact reason for the *furore* which they created; true, they are pretty, neat, well-finished pieces of verse, but they do not, as a whole, approach to the level of *Trivia* or *The Shepherd's Week*. We have to remember, however, that the fable was a favourite poetic form in the eighteenth century, probably because writers were so fond of

. moralising upon life, and the fable, therefore, proved a most convenient instrument for their purpose. Lady Winchelsea wrote fables, Prior wrote a few, and so did Edward Moore towards the middle of the century. Gay, then, was merely following a tradition which had become firmly established before his day ; but with his joviality and his ready wit he was enabled to do well what others did only moderately. His fables are always neat and crisp ; they are direct and simple, too, but they never fail to hit the point. *The Poet and the Rose*, *The Man and the Flea*, *The Farmer's Wife and the Raven*, *The Gardener and the Hog*, all have an ingenious moral application ; but the best known of all is *The Hare with Many Friends*, in which the author vents his ire upon his literary companions for what he considered their unmerited neglect of them. It tells how

A hare, who, in a civil way,
Complied with everything, like Gay,
Was known by all the bestial train
Who haunt the woods, or graze the plain.
Her care was never to offend,
And every creature was her friend.

One day, pursued by the hounds, she besought each of her friends in turn to help her to escape, but all refused ; so she was left to the tender mercies of her pursuers. At one time Gay's fables were known to every school child, for they were used as text-books of morality, and as reading primers alike ; and not a few grown-ups, even in this, the twentieth century, can read them with enjoyment.

But to-day, as I have remarked before, Gay is remembered chiefly as a dramatist. His earliest experiment for the stage was a burlesque on the style of Shakespeare on the one hand, and of Dryden on the other, entitled *The Mohocks*. The satire was topical (for the Mohocks were a notorious

streetgang of the time, who molested foot-passengers in dark alleyways at night) and because of this, it was bound to have a temporary appeal, if nothing else. It is clever, but little more can be said for it. It was a nine-days wonder, and then it died, quite deservedly. Some advance is shown in *The What-D'Ye-Call-It*, A Tragi-Comical-Pastoral-Farce, in which are mingled burlesque, sentiment, and satire. As a successor to *The Rehearsal*, and a predecessor of *Tom Thumb*, *Chrononhotonthologos* and *The Dragon of Wantley* it is interesting enough; but it also displays its author's ingenuity in picking out just the most assailable points of the contemporary drama and welding them together in so whimsical a manner. The sentimental heroine is a certain Kitty, who thus addresses her lover Filbert:

I can sow plain-work, I can darn and stitch;
 I can bear sultry days frosty weather;
 Yes, yes, my Thomas, we will go together;
 Beyond the seas together we will go,
 In camps together, as at harvest glow.
 This arm shall be a bolster for thy head,
 I'll fetch clean straw to make my soldier's bed;
 There, while thou sleep'st, my apron o'er thee hold,
 Or with it patch thy tent against thy cold,
 Pigs in hard rains I've watched, and shall I do
 That for the pigs, I would not bear for you?

Näive, slightly grotesque, perhaps; and yet there is something of genuine feeling in it. Then there is a ghost scene (again intended as a burlesque), full of forceful meaning, which shows that Gay really did possess the true humourist's feeling for the pathetic. Just as three justices sitting over their tankard, are learnedly discussing some nice legal point, they are confronted by a procession of spectres who all point their fingers accusingly at them and charge them with responsibility for their deaths.

1 Ghost.

I'm Jeffery Cackle.—You my death shall rue;
For I was press'd by you, by you, by you.

2 Ghost.

I'm Smut the farrier.—You my death shall rue;
For I was press'd by you, by you, by you.

3 Ghost.

I'm Bess that hang'd myself for Smut so true,
So owe my death to you, to you, to you, to you.

4 Ghost.

I was begot before my mother married,
Who whipt by you, of me poor child miscarried.

5 Ghost.

Its mother I, whom you whipped black and blue;
Both owe our deaths to you, to you, to you,

Then all the ghosts shake their heads, dance around the justices in a ring, sing a dismal song, and vanish, the justices taking to their heels in fright.

But it was, of course, in *The Beggar's Opera*, a fusion of satire, farce, sentiment, and burlesque, produced at Lincoln's Inn Fields Theatre in 1728, that Gay reached the summit of his achievement. Here, moving amongst the underworld of London, he was in his element; and he writes so naturally about it all, too. It was a transcript from real life, just as *Trivia* was a transcript from the everyday life of the London streets. Macheath, Polly, Lockit, Filsh, all of them are actual, living characters, not mere stage puppets, strutting here and there, or performing their antics as their author pulls the wires; and around the whole of the underworld which the opera depicts, is cast a semblance of reality which lifts it above anything else of its time. The hint came

from Swift. In a conversation with Gay he happened to drop a chance remark that a Newgate pastoral might make a pretty spectacle, never dreaming that his companion would take him at his word. But Gay liked the idea ; he saw possibilities in it ; he sat down to work it out, and the result was *The Beggar's Opera*. His friends did not quite know what to make of it ; they prophesied that it would either fail ignominiously or find an enthusiastic reception, and most were inclined to the former view. At Drury Lane Cibber rejected it, but Rich, the manager of Lincoln's Inn Fields, was more far-seeing. In spite of the fact that Puin, his principal player, refused the rôle of Macheath, in spite, too, of the pessimism of all his colleagues, he put the play upon the boards, and soon he found his faith amply justified, for it became the rage of the town, and achieved a run of sixty-two nights during the first season—a record for those days, when fifteen to twenty nights was a good average. That initial run brought into the theatre a sum of £5,351-15-0 ; on his own estimation Gay made about £800 profit on it, and Rich about £4,000.

The Beggar's Opera is indicative of the reaction against the rather mawkish sentimentality which had appeared in many comedies during the past few years. Yet, though it is partly a burlesque upon this type of play and upon the Italian operas ; although, too, it is a parody of the heroic drama, with all its exaggerated romanticism, at the same time it is not devoid of sentimentalism itself. At bottom, be it remembered, the piece is a political satire, ridiculing the Walpole administration. Macheath is no other than the Prime Minister himself, a “ gentleman ” robber who pockets the public money without any qualms of conscience, rules the roost amongst his fellow-politicians and uses all with whom he comes into contact to serve his own ends. Macheath's well-known song,

How happy could I be with either,
Were t'other dear charmer away.

is supposed by some critics to refer to Walpole's intrigues with Moll Skerrett and the obvious difficulty in which he found himself when the affair became known to his wife ; but this is a debatable point. Whether or not Gay intended his audience to read this into the incident, there is no doubt that he did mean to satirise politics and politicians ; and the particular aspects of political life which he holds up to ridicule are its corruption, its duplicity, and its deceit. Even the most disinterested spectator could not fail to see the point in a song such as that with which Peachum opens the play :

Through all the employments of life
Each neighbour abuses his brother ;
Whore and rogue, they call husband and wife,
All professions be-rogue one another :
The priest calls the lawyer a cheat,
And the lawyer be-knaves the divine :
And the statesman, because he's so great,
Thinks his trade as honest as mine.

or in the observation,

“ My daughter should be like a Court lady to a minister of state, a key to the whole gang.”

Or again, in this song of Lockit's in the second act :

When you censure the age,
Be cautious and sage,
Lest the courtiers offended should be :
If you mention vice or bribe,
'Tis so put to all the tribe,
Each cries—That was levelled at me !

Now the social evils which Gay satirises here were just those which Cibber, Steele, Mrs. Centlivre, and the rest of the sentimentalists had been decrying for the past twenty years. The social and political sides of the *Beggar's Opera*, therefore, were sentimental in tendency. But we can go even

further than this. The characters themselves are conceived in the same strain. Macheath belongs to what Mr. Bateson calls¹ the school of secondary sentimentalism. True, he is something of a rake and a libertine lacking in over-much respect for conventional morality, but in his own way he is a fellow likable enough. He has a code of honour all his own and his good heart covers a multitude of sins. He is, in fact, the lineal descendant of Farquhar's Sergeant Kite and Sir Harry Wildair. Polly, a simple artless girl, virtuous amongst vice, loving even to a husband who is never too careful of his marital duties, is quite a typical, sentimentalised, virtuous maid.

Polly, the sequel, is a far less meritorious play. With the shifting of the scene to the Indies the whole tone has degenerated into that of melodrama; yet still something of the sentimental bias remains. Polly, faithful as ever to her banished husband, crosses the ocean to remain by his side and to comfort him in his exile. But once in the New World, she is beset with snares. Ducat, her employer, becomes enamoured of her, tries to entice her away, and makes an attempt upon her virtue, but her native sense of honour and morality brings her safe through all her difficulties. Never once does she break her trust to Macheath, and when he dies, like an honest widow she takes to herself a second husband in the person of the noble savage, Cawwawkee.

The portrait of Gay painted by Sir Godfrey Kneller gives the impression of a jovial, happy-go-lucky fellow, who always showed a bright face to the world, whatever the grief or disappointment in his heart. Thackeray called him "a little, round-faced, French abbe of a man, sleek, soft-handed and soft-hearted," and this, one feels, is how he must have struck his contemporaries. A fair, succinct character-sketch of him is given by the *Biographia Dramatica* :

¹ F. W. Bateson, *English Comic Drama, 1700-1750* (1929).

“As a man he appears to have been morally amiable. His disposition was sweet and affable, his temper generous, and his conversation agreeable and entertaining. He had, indeed, one foible too frequently incident to men of great literary abilities, and which subjected him at times to inconveniences which otherwise he need not have experienced: *viz.*, an excess of indolence, which prevented him from exerting the full force of his talents.”

Yes, a constitutional indolence was Gay's great drawback. There was about him, too, something of the spoilt child. He always expected to be the centre of attention, he always wanted his own way, and if he could not have it, then so to speak, he withdrew from the game in a temper and refused to play again until the others would give in to him. Amenable to reason he certainly was not; the only way one could get anything from him was to humour him. He loved wine and eating, he loved finery, and he loved gossip. Then he always fancied himself a special favourite of the ladies, as no doubt he was, but rather for their amusement than their affection. “Any lady with a coach and six horses would carry you to Japan,” Swift once observed to him; and Jonathan knew his man. It was true enough; constant dangling after the sex, from Mrs. Howard, with whom he kept up a lengthy correspondence while she was at Tunbridge in 1723, to the latest Court favourite, occupied a good part of Gay's life; and yet it was only harmless dalliance. None of them took him seriously. Indeed, even his closest friend could never do that. “He was the general favourite of the whole assembly of wits,” wrote Dr. Johnson, “but they regarded him as a playfellow rather than a partner, and treated him with more fondness than respect.” Irresponsible, careless, improvident, and indolent, he must have been a most annoying person to deal with; but luckily his friends had patience. Staunch, long-suffering friends they were, too, ever ready to help and advise him, never tiring of his

importunities, always prepared to forgive his faults as mere peccadilloes. Never was poet more ungenerous than was Gay in the fable of *The Hare with Many Friends*.

Compared with the average writer of his age, Gay had little to boast about in his career. His gifts were only moderate, and his education was not good, but in spite of this (or was it because of it?) he is less often guilty of unrelieved dullness than his fellows. Genial, easy, volatile, he had a veritable *flair* for interesting and vivid writing. He was possessed of the quick eye, which could take in at a glance all that was significant in a situation, and a busy interest in the common affairs of daily life which found romance even in the seemingly dull and prosaic. That, probably, is why all his verse is characterised by a bright precision of detail; he was made for the appreciation of little things. Take for instance his poem *The Fan*. As a complete entity it cannot rank very high; yet there are delightful parts in it, where the wit, the facility of language, and the fine imagery all unite to make a gem of literary composition.

Then there is a certain gentle humanity about Gay, patent in many of his letters and evident also in some of his verses. He may have been a humourist, but pathos was never far from his heart. As an example of this side of his nature at its best, let me refer the reader to that extract from one of his letters, quoted by Thackeray in his *English Humourists*, which tells of the death of a simple country maid and her lover in a hayfield during a thunderstorm. It was only a story when Gay heard it, but he tells it affectingly and pathetically as only a man who felt could tell it.

“There was heard so loud a crash as if the heaven had burst asunder. The labourers, all solicitous for each other’s safety, called to one another; those that were nearest to our lovers, hearing no answer, stepped to the place where they lay; they first saw a little smoke, and after, this faithful pair—John with one arm about his Sarah’s neck and the

other held over her face as if to screen her from the lightning. They were struck dead, and already grown stiff and cold in this tender posture. There was no mark or discolouring on their bodies, only that Sarah's eyebrow was a little singed, and a small spot between her breasts. They were buried the next day in one grave."

It was just this gift of feeling that made Gay the poet that he was. In his admirable *Contemplation on Night* it evidences itself as a feeling for nature; in the ballad of *Black Ey'd Susan* it is feeling for humanity, which, allied with a lyrical gift rare for the age, makes that poem one of the few really successful Augustan poems of simple life. Perhaps, too, it was this same faculty which so endeared him to his friends; for there is no doubt that the bond between them was unusually strong. Pope was always anxious at the least news of his ill-health, and for days Swift could not trust himself to read the letter announcing his death. Even those who knew him only by name, as the creator of the *Fables* and *The Beggar's Opera*, could never believe that he had gone, for his personality was one of those which seem immortal. Of all the writers of the early eighteenth century Gay appears most modern. His mind was more agile both intellectually and imaginatively than that of any of his contemporaries, and his Muse was freer. In short, he was undoubtedly an attractive man, and therefore, since he puts himself candidly into his poetry, he was, and remains an attractive poet.

FREDERICK T. WOOD

SONG

Why is the flower fair ?
To please the bulbul's loving eye
To soothe the baby in his sigh,
To call a shower from the sky,
And scent and fill the air.

Why Is The Meadow Green ?

To hail the glamour of the beam,
To serve the shepherd in his dream,
To wake the poet to heavenly theme
Beyond the height's unseen.

BAL GURDYAL SINGH WADALIA

DISARMAMENT

No international question arouses more popular interest than that of Disarmament. And rightly so, for that this is the master key, which regulates the war, is undeniable. A few months back the Disarmament Conference was held at Geneva. It made the barren tongues loud. Papers sang the deepest measure through their columns. Queen Earth rendered all homage in all her splendour. Every eye glanced at the conference in all her glory. It spread all over her a charming spell.

It is, perhaps, a mania of modern times—it is a world mania—to talk of world citizenship, world federation, world culture, disarmament and a lot of such fine things. No doubt it is a most fascinating and noble mission in life, but devoid of its net results it is a sad one. These phrases mean one thing for us and another for them. These are all emotional talks. Optimistic outlook of life, indeed, is befitting to poets and not to eminent statesmen. Diplomacy is a profligate woman. She changes colours, as many colours come and go on a piece of copper when it is heated.

What has been achieved up till now? What has been done since the armistice of 1918? Has the world become more safe for world-federation? It is idle to pretend any hopeful view about these questions. Conferences have been held without any hope—nay not even a flicker of hope. Peace-makers attend with a noble mission of Peace and make their exit with the worst mission of War.

It may be worth while to turn our attention for a moment or so to the study of the Disarmament problem. Is it possible or not? If possible, how? By what means and methods? Late-ly the conference was held at Geneva. What has it done?

The curtain of the drama went up amidst the thundering blessings of the guns at Shanghai. More than sixty nations sent their representatives. Statesmen came with sheathed swords and

went out unsheathed to see if more brasso was required to polish and clean their swords after comparing them with others. Every one came with a steel hand under a velvety glove. They did not gather there for disarmament but for armament. Strange to say, there was no proposal for the reduction of armaments. The recent Geneva Conference was unfortunately a tragedy of good intentions frustrated. It was just like the sight of a large crowd gathered round the lion's cage, or like a notable zoo, it received plenty of attention from visitors and admirers. Sorry to say, it had less chance of becoming a favourite.

Why all this talk of Disarmament? Simply to avoid war. Can we abandon war? The problem is a psychological one. There are two kinds of war. One is bloodless and the other is with bloodshed. Disarmament can stop the latter and not the former. There is a bloodless and non-violent war going on in India without any arms. What is the effect of disarmament on India? Have you not read Mahatma Gandhi's letter sent to the Viceroy? "It has reduced us politically to serfdom," he wrote. "It has sapped the foundations of our culture, and by the policy of disarmament it has degraded us spiritually. Lacking inward strength, we have been reduced by all but universal disarmament to a state bordering on cowardly helplessness." How true it is. This is all about Indian Disarmament.

Now, what about the world-disarmament problem? There are tremendous obstacles to it and to the world-peace. The ground is not yet prepared for it. Paper resolutions and polyglot speeches cannot achieve it. Political antagonisms breed every sort of antagonism. National prestige is the greatest force. Extension of extra-territorial protection to property and credits, monopolies, exclusive rights of trade and, above all, the racial differences between Whites, Yellows and Blacks, and the allied and specific activities of these types are the chief factors which will never allow disarmament.

How funny it is; besides the above two kinds of war there are still two more to reckon with. One is official and the other

is non-official. This classification of wars is not a new thing for the students of Indian history. We had such wars known as Anglo-French Wars in India. These wars were not sanctioned by the Home Government. Whatever kinds of war it be, whether official or non-official, bloodless or with bloodshed, the results are the same, save in bloodless war where the toll of Death is *nil*. In all other respects, the lesser griefs breed a thousand economic crises.

Wars official or non-official is another way of putting the same thing in a different light. Japan and China are not fighting. They are at peace. It is simply their soldiers that are fighting. So was the case with the Anglo-French wars in India. The English and the French were not fighting, they were at peace in Europe, but simply soldiers and generals of the respective nations fought in India. This is a diplomatic way of saying the same thing. It is a talk of lawyers, when they prove a part is legal but the whole is illegal or *vice versa*, as is usually done in contracts or documentary evidence. All such political talk is meant to disguise the real facts. They do not mean real business but are futile talk. It is a sport with words.

Suppose for a moment all the nations agree to disarm. Undoubtedly, the world peace will be established. Will it stop war! It will make war less formidable. Nations cannot agree to dispense altogether with arms. They want arms for self-defence. Then, there would be bloodless and non-violent wars. But what kind of peace will it be! It will be a peace of the burial ground. A very grave thing. Will the world like it? After a violent storm we can enjoy and appreciate the value of a calm atmosphere. It is only after getting ourselves shut in a dark cell we can know the value of fresh light. 'If winter comes can spring be far behind.' The world cannot do without war. It is the inborn tendency of mankind to fight. The spirit is always combative. It is not non-combative. The world enjoys tragedy and comedy both. History repeats itself. Are the lessons of history to be left aside like the cruel Australian bird

which leaves its eggs to be stolen by anybody. So it is after a great war the world shall be able to appreciate the value of peace. Perhaps, some one will have to fiddle again, O Peace! where are thy charms which patriotic men have seen in thy face! My dear Goddess of Peace, indeed you must have been afraid to walk in the darkest of Europe surrounded by the ghosts of old hatreds, envy, rivalry, jealousy and power.

The next thing which naturally arises in our minds is, Is Disarmament an impossible thing. No, it is not so. There are two kinds of disarmament, artificial and natural. It is artificial when we try to reduce the armaments by agreeing in conferences as at Geneva. It is natural when armaments are reduced and destroyed in war. We may call it positive and negative checks on war. We have seen that artificial disarmament is not possible for they do not mean to agree amongst themselves. Disarmament is only possible for a nation which has authority to do so. The hand that wields the sword can achieve it very easily. This is an infallible remedy. Recently another theory of 'Self-imposed limitations' has come forward. Are the nations so righteous as to do it most willingly? It is like beholding the mote that is in the brother's eye and not to perceive the beam in one's own eye. It is all back-chat.

The present scientific civilization contains within itself the seeds of her own destruction. It will surely defeat its own creations. Disarmament to be successful needs another Great War. It is as inevitable as the rising sun.

The Western part of the globe is more combative than the Eastern. Recent events in the East connote that Asiatic nations too have sucked in the spirit of the West. India is the least warlike continent. In past as well as in modern times India has always stood for world peace. Envious of none, India is determined to be pleased with all. India is a pioneer nation in this respect. She can teach this lesson well to the world by her own example. The nearer we come the more we quarrel. It is impossible that men would like to live in a joint-family system

of world-federation. This is absolutely a foreign idea. By nature mankind as a whole is combative and warlike.

Apart from all these arguments, there is another way. It is by enlightening the young generation. Particularly, schools in Europe ought to change their traditional outlook. It is here that the future citizens are trained. How true it is to say 'Waterloo was won at Eton.' It is the lessons of the school that the foolish youth transfers to the world. To revive ancient bitterness and differences is not a happy way of achieving a world co-operation. Schools should stop sending out to the world combative men imbued with nationalistic ideas. Such patriotic men are like trustful infants who play with waxen fingers around their mother's neck, and know nothing beyond their mother's eyes. This is the first peg on which we can hang our ideas of international co-operation. It is here in schools that the sun of mankind casts his radiant rays in many dreams of high desire.

Whatever fickle tongues may say, the Disarmament Conference at Geneva is whispering from her dying lips sweet bitter curses. It is a car forever parked in the Geneva garage. She must die or she will weep. Let us drop a wet blanket over this ugly scene.

How can we take a very hopeful view towards a world-peace from such conferences! The nations will have to change their nationalistic outlook of life. Until that is done everything is impossible. Thus, then, conduct teaching in a right direction with a view to world-co-operation; without this, every other means must fail. Let us tie the whole world with a strong bond of culture; it means making life worth living.

VAMAN H. PANDIT

COMRADES

There are roads that wind and roads that fail
When the need for a road is great.
Ever are trees well blazed on a beaten trail
That leads away to where drear years wait

But wind we all to the cloaking night
Where all roads fade in a misty gloom.
Then look we must to the stars for light
Since the earth has become but a quiet tomb.

No script can we read when the light is gone,
And we fear the thing that we cannot see,
Forgetting quite that we are never alone ;
That Dawn and the Dark are of one pedigree.

The wind that sweeps and each burning star
Are brothers all in Infinite law and ken.
And twilight thrown on the evening air
With the trees and grass are comrades with men.

The dancing rain and the roaring blast,
The thunder poured from a throbbing sky.
The glowworm's torch with bright suns is cast
In brotherhood firm of the eagle and fly.

The linnet's treble and the frog's hoarse bass,
My humble song and an organ's chime,
Are co-owners of life, in a faultless case,
From an unknown start to the end of time.

DAVID W. CADE

Reviews

"**Ronald Ross: Discoverer and Creator**" by R. L. Mégroz, with a Preface by Osbert Sitwell (George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., 10s. 6d. net) is a successful attempt to adequately present the totality of a versatile genius and many-sided personality. Its authenticity is largely due to the opportunities the biographer secured of having questions answered by Sir Ronald Ross himself, specially about technical matters, and of constant assistance received from his personal private secretary, Miss Maude Lafford. It was also reserved for this biographer to reveal to the world in general aspects of Sir Ronald Ross's genius and intellectual activity as a mathematician, master of music, poet, novelist and literary dramatist little known hitherto and less appreciated. The value of the book before us is thus inestimable.

It is, in view of its comprehensive scope, divided into two parts; the first biographical and scientific (containing eleven chapters) and the second on literary work (described with greater fullness in as many as twenty-three chapters). If "the fame of Sir Ronald Ross's work in Medical Science," as the author's note reminds us, had hitherto "overshadowed his reputation as a creative artist in literature," the danger, if any, after the publication of this more-literary-than-scientific biography will perhaps be the other way about. The bias of Mr. Mégroz, as may be naturally expected, is in the direction of literary over-emphasis. Shall we be open to the charge of being unjust, if we make bold to go a step further and hint that he is better qualified too in accurately and adequately appraising Sir Ronald Ross the imaginative writer rather than the scientific expert? Mr. Sitwell in his Preface writes "a few words on the poetry of Sir Ronald Ross" in which he detects "a curious and delightful modernity" and bears testimony to the great man's "extraordinary diversity of genius"—observing appropriately that "that such a man of science should be such a poet must in itself be a cause of pride to all lovers equally of poetry and science." He owns to "the greatest shock of pleasure" with which he "discovered that he was a novelist." That is precisely our own feeling too.

Apart from the four significant chapters in the biographical portion of this volume—suggestively named "The Scavenger's Task" (Ch. I⁷), "The Quest" (Ch. V), "The Discovery" (Ch. VI) and the rather cynical "The Discoverer Punished" (Ch. VII), this last being decidedly "peppery,"—in which a laudable endeavour is visible of doing justice to

a thwarted investigator and a wronged man, suffering systematically from the world's neglect, but worse still, from the misrepresentation and even vilification of discreditable rivals, the entire volume indicates, by numerous stinging or sarcastic remarks scattered over it, that the biographer's temper must have been too strongly tried.

Nevertheless, we are completely helped in these 253 pages of very carefully collected and ably presented relevant materials in properly realising the true greatness of one of the greatest benefactors of humanity who happened at the same time to be a real literary, genius and are grateful to Mr. Mégroz.

The biographer impresses upon us the nature of Sir Ronald Ross's uphill work as a wonderfully successful investigator of the whole Malaria problem in all its intricate details and the ungrudging and patient industry and indomitable perseverance, inspired and guided by intuition, that ultimately resulted in one of the most glorious scientific and humanitarian achievements of the nineteenth century for which the name of the discoverer of the Malaria parasite and of the fact of the disease being spread by a type of the *Anopheles* mosquito, is to-day a household word all the world over. "Malaria is an endemic disease over about one-third of the earth's surface." According to Professor Müller's estimate "some 800,000,000 people of the world suffer from malaria." "In India alone, in an unexceptional year, some 1,300,000 people die of malaria." As calculated by Dr. A. Balfour, the economic loss due to this fell disease for the British Empire alone may be "expressed as between £52,000,000 and £62,000,000 a year." These few figures quoted from the volume before us will suffice to place before the reader's imagination the magnitude of the scourge which Sir Ronald Ross has successfully sought by consecrating his whole life and his energies to the service of mankind.

We must leave it to Mr. Mégroz to carry his reader through the interesting history of the whole process of Sir Ronald Ross's arduous and baffling researches described in some detail in his book. It may not, however, be out of place to draw their attention to the fact of this great discoverer's birth at Almora only *three* days before the breaking out of the Indian Mutiny, to his appointment in 1881 as Surgeon in the I. M. S. and being attached to the Station Hospital at Madras and *first* becoming interested in mosquitoes at Bangalore, and, finally to the year of his greatest achievement, *e.g.*, 1897.

Mr. Mégroz rightly observes (p. 72) that "character counts in research as in other work" and admirably shows (pp. 45-50) what a sympathetic and tender heart may beat behind a scientific mind.

The literary section of this biography presents before us in detail Sir Ronald Ross as a poet, satirical, gnomic and lyrical, as a critic, a dramatist, a general prose writer and a great novelist. We have here masterly summaries of plots, sketches of character, elaborate quotations in illustration of the author's characteristics and merits and critical estimates of his performances.

The usefulness of the volume is increased by its 5 appendices and a general index.

J. G. B.

" **Monsieur Thiers** " by John M. S. Allinson, professor of History, Yale University, George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 10s. 6d. net, is a well-written biography of a talented Frenchman who has left his mark on the history of France as a great historian, political thinker, successful diplomat and wise councillor and administrator. The history of Monsieur Thiers' life and rise into power and eminence is very closely connected with the stirring events and revolutionary changes in France from the close of the Napoleonic wars to the establishment of the Third Republic and "to the last hour of his life he remained an important figure in the political life of France," whose greatest aim was to introduce into France the ideal of a parliamentary system. This valuable book is the result of Professor Allinson's assiduous researches and it traces in a pleasant and interesting manner the stages through which this representative of the bourgeoisie and child of the revolution had to successively pass from the position of an obscure student at the Lycée de Merzeilles which made of him "an acute military historian and a patriot with an intense and perilous desire for the glory of a French Empire" (1811) and an ambitious young barrister at Aix-en-Provence (1818) to that of the President of the Republic (1871). Monsieur Louis Adolphe Thiers came, in the course of his brilliant career extending over a little more than half a century, into close contact with such eminent figures as Prince Metternich, Prince Bismarck, King Leopold of Belgium, Guizot, Tallegland, Palmerston and Gladstone, contended for supremacy with Broglie, Molé, Barrot, Guizot and Gambetta, did carry on most difficult negotiations with Austria, Prussia, Russia and England in some of the darkest days of France and established an active and strong foreign policy in the French Government—and in all these trying circumstances his indomitable personality won the day.

Professor Allinson gives us within 288 pages of this manysided life-history also a fascinating picture of the history of France in

close association with the main currents of European diplomacy and politics. We can clearly visualise, for instance, conditions in France in 1824 at the death of Louis XVIII, state of political parties after August, 1829, the growing power of the public press which owed a great deal to Thiers himself, especially of the "National" in which Thiers defined in 1830 his political creed, parties in French politics with their heads and programmes after the setting up of the July Monarchy of 1830, Thiers' new ideal of a sound government and his grand oratory, Thiers as the Minister of the Interior in the critical days of 1832, the attitude towards the Orleanist Monarchy of the Counter-Revolutionary European Courts, Thiers as Minister of Public Works, the troubles created by the Legitimists, Republicans and the extreme Radicals, Industrial and Labour troubles, characteristics of the Bourgeois Monarchy of Louis Philippe, the powerful factions against the Thiers Cabinet specially in 1838-39. Reform Movement of 1840, the crucial year for Thiers, the Revolution of 1848, Thiers in his forced political retreat and seclusion in Paris and the new Thiers that emerged in 1863 after 12 years of political retirement and his growing power and influence up to 1869 and his new programme of 1864, Thiers in 1871 and the scandals invented by his enemies and sedulously circulated and his final retirement from active politics in 1873 besides new movements in literature, science, philosophy, economics, social life and the sharp contrast in changed attitude of the French people as a whole between the *second* half of the 19th Century and the first.

This must be acknowledged as a great literary effort and achievement made by the biographer. He had to incorporate into what is mainly intended for a biography a large amount of the history of France in an age of tumultuous political activities, changes and experiments.

We may particularly draw the attention of our readers to the following features of this important and interesting volume.

Competent handling by the author of the intricacy of tangled affairs in France and acute analysis made, when necessary, of baffling problems and complex situations (*vide* specially pp. 38, 46, 52, 69-72, 76-79, 92, 96-106, 107-9, 111-12, 121-22, 123-24, 129-30, 161, 172, 216 and 228-29).

Relevant facts are carefully sifted, collected and presented in an orderly series, details seldom being allowed to blur the main outline. Lucid, vivid and, occasionally, dramatic pictures of critical situations are deftly drawn and spiced with a flash of humour.

Principal figures and representative groups, with their policies, plans and programmes, made to appear in the historical perspective in their

appropriate guise and the main current of events shown to flow clearly and uninterruptedly, all cross currents being subordinated to it but never suppressed.

Swift movement of events towards culmination or crisis skilfully seized and utilised so that the true relation between sudden revolutionary changes and the gradual development or slower process of necessary evolution may be correctly grasped by the readers whose eyes are always directed to the position actually occupied by the subject of this biography in this chequered history of France from 1816 to 1873.

In presenting the character of his hero to us the author has, with a touch of humour, given amusing or important details regarding his embarrassing father, natural brothers and sisters, relation with his mother, his friendships, relation with his patrons and political rivals, his marriage, the influence of his pompous mother-in-law, his wife and the salon and hospitality of the Place Saint Georges, and his love for the theatrical and the spectacular.

"In his wife (Elise Dosue) Thiers found all the satisfaction that he sought" and "the Salon Thiers-Dosue became a great political centre."

Thiers laid down the principle that "the King reigns and does not govern" and tried all his life to act up to it as a responsible minister. He laid the foundations for a great economic change in France and made laws to meet, as far as he wanted, the demands of industrialists and capitalists. He inaugurated the birth of a Reform Movement. As President of the Council he was a disappointment and was attached to his "creec of the Middle Class." The author of a *History of French Revolution*, *History of Consulate and Empire* and other writings is not considered by Professor Allinson to be a scholar but only "a romanticist who dreamed of being a historian." The latter performance was, however, "hailed as the master history of the First Empire." Thiers also "flirted with sciences" and formed an outline scheme of his "Plan d'un Ouvrage de Philosophie." He recognised *five* essential liberties—Liberty of the Individual, Liberty of the Press, Freedom of Elections, Freedom of Parliament and Ministerial Responsibility. He opposed Gambetta who made "Democracy march triumphant into the Corps Legislatif." During the extremely anxious days of the D  b  cle of 1870 Thiers became the most important Frenchman in the eyes of Europe and later on successfully tackled Bismarck and in 1872 "envisaged the establishments of much the same sort of Constitution that France received after his retirement"—his plan being the establishment of a *R  publique Conservatrice* in France.

" After his death " (which took place on September 3, 1877) " the manuscript of an address to his future constituents was found on his desk. It contains all the spirit and all the fire of patriotism that he had shown in the past, but it betrays, as well, a wise Thiers, his final evolution. It concludes with these words :—" National Sovereignty, Republic, Liberty, Scrupulous Observance of the Law, Liberty of Religion, Peace—these, my dear electors, are the opinions that I have held all my life, that belong to our Nineteenth Century, and that will make a mark in the history of France and of humanity " (p. 287).

The book is provided with an extensive Bibliography or list of readings and an Index.

J. G. B.

Unemployment in India—by Sir M. Visweswarayya, K.C.I.E., LL.D. The Bangalore Press, Bangalore City, 1932, As. 8, pp. 66.

This is an address delivered by the distinguished economist, practical politician, and successful administrator of Mysore to the University Union, Bangalore. Put in a nutshell his opinion is that Indian economic organisation is so " imperfectly planned that besides chronic under-employment " and low standard of living the primary problems of poverty and increasing unemployment have to be tackled successfully by the conjoint and co-operative efforts of the people and the Government of India.

Middle-class unemployment arising out of excessive literary education, chronic under-employment of the agricultural classes and growing unemployment as a concomitant feature of nascent unorganised industrialism and natural unemployment caused by the increasing growth of population, are the main contributory causes for this widespread menace.

The economic blizzard passing over India has intensified the already acute problem of unemployment. The general low standard of living means under-nourishment and if under-work due to unemployment were to still further aggravate the economic situation the outlook is indeed dismal, dreary and dark. If horrid famines of the 19th century days are no longer to be experienced it does not mean that the economic problem has been fully achieved. Had an active statistical bureau existed the number of unemployed could have been easily gauged as in the case of the United Kingdom and the U.S.A. He however hazards at the guess that 40 millions out of 350 millions fall under the category of employed and under-employed. Including the under-employed the " actual number is roughly a hundred million " (p. 6).

A predominantly agricultural country like India has to experience a low *per capita* income unless and until the opportunities for rationalising agriculture and industrialism are grasped and an industrial policy has been inaugurated to develop the existing resources in a fitting manner. In this age of technocracy, India cannot hope to successfully compete in her own internal market with the go-ahead and progressively industrialised countries like Japan, the U.S.A. Continental Europe and Great Britain.

After briefly surveying the limited work of the different Unemployment Committees of the Provincial Governments of Bombay, the Punjab and Madras (pp. 16-21) he considers the general remedies vouchsafed by them. Illiteracy, neglect of industries, lack of regular and steady employment, incapacity in choosing professional occupations, primitive industrial and agricultural technique and dumping by foreign industrialists, are considered as the general causes for this menace.

The Government Committees have indeed outlined some remedies such as Governmental action and collective co-operation of people with the Government. The working habits, discipline and industry of the people need reorientation so that individual and national income might expand thereby. The Government itself has to help the process of rapid industrialisation, rural reconstruction, and establishment of practical training institutions. This is the needed programme to solve the major economic evils of the country including that of unemployment. Undeterred by any failure new industrial concerns—large, medium and small-scale—should be started by men of managing ability who are provided with the necessary materials, machinery and money.

Rural reform itself should aim at producing good workers and efficient businessmen. The important urban areas are to start practical training institutes and schools so that practical work in different cottage industries is learnt and the intelligence bureau run by it should disseminate the statistical information collected by it. In addition to the above work outlined by him he wisely insists on the people forgetting certain economic and social theories circulated by interested men who are bent on making the people or children of the soil mere hewers of wood and drawers of water. This would create the general conditions for the growth of prosperity. He thus attempts to solve the "Master Problem of the Age." But nothing is more important for us to remember than the cardinal factor that prior political salvation is all-indispensable for succeeding economic progress.

We only wish the unemployed educated middle-class youths would found such concerns and that the local community people would co-operate with them and make their plan a success and the Government would not misunderstand their zeal but co-ordinate their activity with such concerns.

B. RAMACHANDRA RAO •

Some Materials for the Study of Agriculture and Agriculturists in Ancient India (1932)—by Prof. R. Ganguli, Serampore College, published by N. C. Mukherjee & Co., p. 147.

The author attempts to do pioneer work in assembling important material for a study of the agricultural industry in Ancient India down to the end of 7th century A. D. His sources of information are the Vedas, the Ramayana, the Mahabharata, the Puranas, the Jatakas and the law-books of those times. His secondary sources of information are Kautilya's Arthashastra and Parasara's "Kṛṣi-Tantra," Asoka's Edicts, Khana's popular aphorisms and maxims and the observations of such foreign travellers of the period as "Megasthenes" and "Periplus."

Though a "satisfactory portrait" could not be prepared by the author he has however stimulated research workers to undertake research work in this important field and complete "the picture" he has drawn. He has however dealt with such important problems as land revenue, animal husbandry, irrigation practices, laws relating to land, famine, and the general social outlook of the agriculturists of ancient India. Before undertaking a detailed study of these problems he outlines the then political system of the villages briefly. According to the author agriculture attained a degree of perfection in that "golden age." He substantiates his remarks by quotations from the recent Royal Agricultural Commission's Report which entirely corroborates his points of view. Then as now agriculture was the predominant industry of the people. In times of Rigveda it attained a high state of perfection and agriculture was considered a noble craft and every family possessed a number of corn-fields. By the time of Yajurveda the Vaisyas alone consider agriculture as their natural occupation. During the Brahmanic, the Sutra and Epic periods agriculture fast became a decadent industry and became confined to the lowest strata of the population.

Coming to cattle-breeding the author proves by citing Manu, Dr. Das and Kautilya's Arthashastra that cattle-breeds were fine, milch kine more productive and plough cattle more efficient than in modern days.

He accounts for the deterioration of cattle as due to the decrease of grazing area, poverty and ignorance of the cultivators. It is interesting to note that he criticises the findings of the Royal Commission on Agriculture which recommend the exportation of fine breeds of cattle from India at a time when there is a serious deficiency of bullock-power.

Griffith's Rig Veda and the Jatakas provide him with ample material to outline the life of the ancient Indian agriculturists of the Vedic and post-Vedic periods. Summing up the idyllic life of these ages the author says that people lived a happy and contented life. But for occasional famine troubling them they lived quite a contented life. The few famines that occurred were however less terrible and devastating than the modern famines.

In the concluding chapter he assigns reasons for the gradual disappearance of the Vaisya agriculturists.

We heartily recommend a perusal of this book by all modern agriculturists of the country and the wealth of agricultural maxims quoted does really testify to the perfection of ancient agricultural practices.

B. RAMACHANDRA RAO

Ourselves

SIR ASUTOSH MOOKERJEE : THE 9TH DEATH ANNIVERSARY

On the 25th of May every year since 1924 people wend their way to the Durbhanga Building, as pilgrims to a shrine, to pay homage to the memory of the great son of Bengal held by his countrymen in everlasting affection, esteem and regard. On the noble staircase and on the spacious landing assemble people of all castes and creeds and the bust of Sir Asutosh decked with white lotuses and green foliage by loving hands is surrounded by his sorrowing friends and admirers with bare feet and bent heads. This annual function has gained for itself a special significance as it focuses the entire genius of the people of the country for education as embodied in the efforts of the great Vice-Chancellor.

On the occasion of the 9th Death Anniversary the solemn assembly led by Sir Nilratan Sircar garlanded the bust in token of love, esteem and gratitude and amidst chanting of Vedic Hymns recounted the achievements and the greatness of the beloved Master. The sombre evening—the setting sun—the scent of flowers and burnt incenses and the intensity and earnestness of the praying assembly created an atmosphere, calm and serene, diffusing purity and benevolence all round. Songs specially composed were sung amidst pin drop silence and the sweet melody added to the solemnity of the occasion. The ceremony terminated with the recitation of the epic sorrow of Rādhā for her beloved, and when the assembly parted late at night there was hardly a man who had not moist eyes.

¶

*

*

THE LATE PROF. PURNA CHANDRA SEN

We regret very much to record the sudden and unexpected death of Prof. Purna Chandra Sen of the Scottish Church College

- which melancholy event took place on Wednesday, the 24th May 1933. Prof. Sen was an educationist all his life and he was connected with a large number of educational institutions in North Calcutta. His genial personality, his unfailing courtesy and his devotion to duty endeared him to all with whom he came in contact. He worked hard for the social and economic regeneration of the Subarnabanik community of which he was an accredited leader. His death removes from our midst a useful citizen, a veteran educationist and a prominent social reformer. We offer our sincere condolence to the bereaved family.

*

*

*

KING GEORGE V. PROFESSOR OF MENTAL AND MORAL PHILOSOPHY

Dr. Adityanath Mukerjee, M.A., Ph.D., has been appointed King George V Professor of Mental and Moral Philosophy from 1st May, 1933, on his retirement from the office of the Registrar of the Calcutta University which he held for two years from 1931 to 1933. He discharged his onerous duties as Registrar with great success and the Syndicate placed on record their appreciation of the good work done by him. His varied intellectual gifts, his social graces, his charming personality, his unfailing courtesy had gained for him the love and respect of every one, from the highest to the lowest, connected with the University. Dr. Mookerjee is an erudite scholar, a man of high culture and academic attainments. Before he joined the post of the Registrar he was the Principal of the Sanskrit College. We are confident that he will keep up the prestige of the great chair to which he has been appointed.

*

*

*

RESULT OF THE D. P. H. EXAMINATION, PART I, HELD IN MAY, 1933

The number of candidates registered for the Examination was 23 of whom 23 passed, none failed and none was absent.

*

*

*

PREMCHAND ROYCHAND STUDENTSHIP IN LITERARY
SUBJECTS FOR THE YEAR 1932

The Premchand Roychand Studentship in literary subjects for the year 1932 has been awarded to Mr. Bimanbihari Mazumdar and Mr. Makhanlal Roychaudhuri.

*

*

*

THE GRIFFITH MEMORIAL PRIZE IN LETTERS FOR THE YEAR 1931

The Griffith Memorial Prize in Letters has been divided equally among the following candidates on the usual conditions:—

Names of Candidates.	Names of Theses.
1. Sukumar Sen, Esq., M.A.	... Syntax of Early Bengali.
2. Miss Mrinal Dasgupta, M.A.	... The Early Indian Idea of Religious Devotion and its Historical Background.
3. Nalininath Dasgupta, Esq.	... Learning and Literature in Early Mediaeval Bengal.
4. Bimalacharan Law, Esq.	... The Pali Pitakas—Chronology and General History, Parts I-IV.
*	*

A NEW PH.D.

Mr. Jayanta Kumar Dasgupta, M.A., one of our contributors, has recently been made a Doctor of Philosophy in the Faculty of Arts in the University of London. He worked at the School of Oriental Studies under Mr. Sulton Page, Reader in Bengali in the University of London, and his research work was on Bengali Literature. Mr. Dasgupta also participated in the teaching work of the School of Oriental Studies of London.

*

*

*

INDIA INSTITUTE OF THE DEUTSCHE AKADEMIE

We have received the following communication from Dr. Thierfelder for publication in our paper:—

DEAR SIR,

India Institute of the Deutsche Akademie would thank you for kindly publishing the following communication :

Members of the Labour Party have been maintaining in the House of Commons that the safety of the Indians pursuing their studies in Germany was compromised by recent political events. This news has also been divulged in the foreign press. India Institute of the Deutsche Akademie, which looks after the interests of a considerable portion of such Indians as study in Germany, assures the public at large that the safety of the Indian students pursuing their scientific work and refraining from interfering with politics is guaranteed at present and in future. Indian students who come to this country in order to acquaint themselves with German things and to promote cultural relations between Germany and India can safely be assured of being now as before welcomed at German Universities. News to the contrary propagated by the foreign press have no foundation in the actual facts.

Faithfully yours,

DR. THIERFELDERS.

*

*

*

COMPETITIVE EXAMINATION FOR THE MINISTERIAL SERVICE
(1ST AND 2ND DIV.) OF THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA TO BE
HELD IN JULY, 1933.

A competitive examination will be held on Monday, July 3rd, 1933, for appointments as assistants and clerks in the First and Second Divisions of the Ministerial Establishment of the Government of India Secretariat and Attached Offices.

2. Candidates who are successful at this examination will be eligible for appointment in vacancies which now exist, or which occur on or before the 30th September, 1934. The number of vacancies, whether open or reserved for minority communities, will be announced later.

3. Successful candidates will be offered posts, in the order of their merit in the examination, as vacancies occur, and posts reserved for candidates of a particular community will be offered

to candidates of that community in order of merit, provided that in each case the Public Service Commission are satisfied that the successful candidate is suitable for employment in the Ministerial Establishment of the Government of India.

CONDITIONS APPLICABLE TO THE EXAMINATION

Section A.—General.

4. Applications to appear at the examination must be made on the prescribed form and must reach the Public Service Commission, together with *all* the necessary documents, not later than the 30th April, 1933. Application forms may be obtained from the Secretary, Public Service Commission, Metcalfe House, Delhi, Kennedy House Annexe, Simla. *Requisitions received less than ten days before the last date for the submission of applications will not be complied with.*

Note.—The office of the Commission will close in Delhi on the 13th April, 1933, and will open in Simla on the 15th April, 1933. Requisitions and applications which cannot reach Delhi by the 13th April, 1933, should, therefore, be addressed to Simla.

5. The fee for the examination will be Rs. 20 to be paid on application, in accordance with clause (e) (i) of the instructions on the application form. *No claim for a refund of the fee paid will be entertained.*

6. The examination will be held at the following centres :—

Allahabad, Bombay, Calcutta, Delhi, Lahore, Madras and Simla.

7. The Public Service Commission may, if they think it desirable, fix a minimum standard to be attained in all or any of the subjects of the examination.

8. Candidates, other than those to whom Section B is applicable, must be not less than 20 years, and not more than 24 years, of age on the 1st July, 1933. They must be graduates of a University incorporated by an Act of the Central or a Provincial Legislature in India, or of the Mysore or the Osmania

University; or must have passed the Cambridge School Certificate Examination or any other examination which may be recognised by the Public Service Commission as equivalent thereto.

Note.—Any person who, at the time of application, has appeared or is appearing at an examination for one of these qualifications, the result of which has not been announced may apply for admission to the Ministerial Service Examination, but, if admitted will not be eligible for appointment to the Ministerial Establishment of the Government of India, unless he produces before the 30th September, 1933, proof of having passed the former examination.

9. The subjects of examination, the time allowed for, and the maximum marks allotted to each subject will be as follows:—

(a) *Arithmetic.*—Time one hour, marks 100.

The questions will be designed to test intelligence, accuracy and rapidity in working.

(b) *Handwriting.*—Time 20 minutes, marks 100.

Candidates will be required to copy a passage printed in English. Marks will be awarded for accuracy, legibility, neatness and speed. If a candidate is unable to copy the whole of the passage a deduction of marks will be made in proportion to the shortage.

(c) *General Knowledge.*—Time one hour, marks 150.

Candidates will be required to give brief answers to questions concerning current events, common phenomena and matters of everyday interest or common knowledge.

(d) *English Composition.*—Time 2 hours, marks 200.

Candidates will be tested in the following:—

- (i) Drafting.
- (ii) Précis Writing.
- (iii) Correcting mistakes in English.
- (iv) Proof correcting.

The test will be of a high standard.

Section B.—Special conditions applicable to retrenched personnel.

10. Any person who, as a measure of retrenchment, has been discharged from the Government of India Secretariat or from an office attached or subordinate to the Government of India, whether located at headquarters or else where, and who will be over the age of 24 years on the 1st July, 1933, will be eligible to compete at the examination, subject to the condition mentioned in paragraphs 11 to 14 below.

11. A candidate must not be more than 30 years of age on the 1st July, 1933, and must not have been more than 25 years of age when he or she first entered Government Service.

Note.—The date of first entry into Government Service is the date from which the candidate was continuously in Government employ until his or her discharge as a measure of retrenchment.

12. A candidate must not have appeared at any previous examination conducted by the late Staff Selection Board or the Public Service Commission for appointment as Assistants and Clerks in the First and Second Divisions of the Ministerial Establishment of the Government of India Secretariat and its Attached Offices.

13. A candidate must have one of the educational qualifications prescribed in paragraph 8 above, and, except as provided in this Section, must comply with the other conditions prescribed in Section A.

14. A candidate's application must be accompanied by a certificate from the Head of the Department or office from which he or she was discharged stating (a) that the candidate was not more than 25 years of age when he or she first entered Government Service as explained in paragraph 11 above; (b) that as a measure of retrenchment the candidate was discharged from an appointment which he or she held in a permanent capacity or in which, but for retrenchment, he or she would have been

confirmed ; and (c) that the candidate is suitable for re-employment in Government Service.

D. REYNELL,

*Secretary,
Public Service Commission.*

DELHI ;

The 25th March, 1933.

Note.—Copies of the “ Pamphlet of the competitive examinations held in February, 1931, for recruitment to the Ministerial Service of the Government of India Secretariat and its Attached and Subordinate Offices ” containing the Notice, the Question papers and the Table of marks of candidates can be purchased from the Manager of Publications, Civil Lines, Delhi.

UNIVERSITY OF CALCUTTA

Latest Publications

Indian Writers of English Verse, by Mrs. Lotika Basu,
B.Litt. (Oxon.) Demy 8vo pp. 170.

Journal of the Department of Letters, Vol. XXIII, Royal
8vo pp. 406.

Journal of the Department of Science, Vol. X, Royal 8vo
pp. 266.

Biswabidyalayer-Rup, by Dr. Rabindranath Tagore. Demy
8vo pp. 30. As. 8.

The Theory of Profits, by Mr. Prafullachandra Ghosh, M.A.
Demy 8vo pp. 442+xx. Rs. 7-8.

Rukmini Haran Nat, by Sankara Deva (in Assamese), edited
with notes by Mr. Ambikanath Borah, M.A. D/C. 16mo
pp. 84. As. 8.

**First Studies on the Health and Growth of Bengali
Students**, by Dr. A. N. Chatterjee, M.B.B.S. Royal
8vo pp. 54. As. 4.

BOOKS IN THE PRESS IN JUNE, 1933.

1. Linguistic Speculations of the Hindus, by Dr. Prabhat-chandra Chakravarti, M.A., Ph.D.
2. Journal of the Department of Letters, Vol. XXIV.
3. Science of the Sulba (*Readership Lectures*), by Dr. Bibhutibhushan Dutt, D.Sc.
4. Ideals and Methods of University Education in Germany (*Readership Lectures*), by Dr. Anna Selig.
5. Dynastic History of Northern India, Vol. II, by Dr. Hem-chandra Ray, M.A., Ph.D. (Lond.).
6. History of Indian Literature, Vol. II, by Prof. M. Winternitz, translated into English by Mrs. S. Ketkar.
7. *Sakti* or Divine Power, by Dr. Sudhendukumar Das, M.A., Ph.D. (Lond.).
8. Hindu Law of Evidence, by Dr. Amareswar Thakur, M.A., Ph.D.
9. A History of Brajabuli Literature, by Mr. Sukumar Sen, M.A., P.R.S.
10. Aims and Methods of Anthropology, by Dr. Panchanan Mitra, M.A., Ph.D. (Yale).
11. Khandakhadyaka, English Translation and Notes, by Mr. Prabodhchandra Sengupta, M.A.
12. Aspects of Bengali Society, by Dr. T. C. Dasgupta, M.A., Ph.D.
13. General Catalogue of Bengali Manuscripts, edited by Mr. Manindramohan Bose, M.A.
14. Convocation Addresses, Vol. VI (1923-1932).
15. Calendar for the year 1933.
16. List of Graduates and Undergraduates in 1930 and 1931.

17. Pramanachandrika—English translation by Dr. S. K. Maitra, M.A., Ph.D.
18. Kamala Lectures, by Dr. Rabindranath Tagore.
19. Dina Chandidas, by Mr. Manindramohan Bose, M.A.
20. Krishi-Bijnan, Vol. II, by Rai Rajeswar Das, Bahadur.
21. Progressism (*Readership Lectures*), by Prof. E. L. Schaub.
22. Prasthan Veda, by Madhusudan Saraswati, edited by Mahamahopadhyaya Gurucharan Tarka-Darshanatirtha.
23. Juristic Personality of Hindu Dieties (*Readership Lectures*), by Dr. S. C. Bagehi, B.A., LL.B., LL.D.
24. Brihat Banga, by Rai Bahadur Dr. Dineschandra Sen, B.A., D.Litt.
25. Persian Influence on Hindi, by Mr. Ambikaprasad Bajpai.

CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY PUBLICATIONS

VII. LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

3. OTHER INDIAN VERNACULARS

Typical Selections from Oriya Literature, edited by Bijay-chandra Mazumdar, B.L., Lecturer in Anthropology, Comparative Philology and Indian Vernaculars in the Calcutta University. Vol. I. Royal 8vo pp. 303. Rs. 11-4.

Do. Vol. II. Royal 8vo pp. 220. Rs. 11-4.

Do. Vol. III. Royal 8vo pp. 519. 1925. Rs. 11-4.
Rs. 22-8 for the full set of 3 Vols.

The special feature of this work is that in the introductory essays (8 in number) the historical and social background of the literature of Orissa has been clearly laid out, the hitherto unsettled chronology of the early poets has been definitely settled, the characteristic peculiarities of Oriya literature have been noted, the origin of Oriya Language has been for the first time carefully traced, and the merits of leading writers of various times have been critically considered.

Asamiya Sahityar Chaneki (Typical Selections from the Assamese Literature), compiled by Pandit Hemchandra Goswami, M.R.A.S., F.R.A.S., of Assam Civil Service, and Editor of "Hema-Kosha."

The book consists of three Volumes. In it the Assamese literature has been treated in six different periods on Historical and Philological considerations. The first period of *Giti-yuga* (600 A.D.—800 A.D.) deals with the Cradle songs, the Pastoral songs, the Bihu songs and the ballads of Assam. The second

period (800 A.D.—1200 A.D.) deals with the mantras and the aphorisms of Assam. In the third or Pre-Vaishnava period (1200 A.D.—1450 A.D.) the translation of the Puranas and the Ramayana in Assamese was taken in hand for the first time by writers like Hema Saraswati, Madhaba Kandali and Pitambara Dwija to prepare the way for Vaishnavism. In the fourth period or the Vaishnavite period (1450 A.D.—1800 A.D.) in which all the great writers of ancient Assamese literature flourished, the literature was chiefly employed for the propagation of Vaishnavism. The fifth period or the period of expansion begins about 1600 A.D. with the consolidation of the Ahom power in the country and extends up to 1800 A.D. about which time the country came under the British rule. This period was marked by great literary activity. The sixth period commences in 1800 A.D. and continues up to the present time.

Vol. I—Contains selections from the first three periods besides an *Introduction in English dealing with the history of the language and literature*. Royal 8vo pp. 425. 1930. Rs. 8-0.

Vol. II—Contains selections from the fourth and the fifth period.

Part I—*Vaishnava Period*, pp. 420. Royal 8vo. 1924. Rs. 6-0

Part II—*Vaishnava Period*, pp. 421-830. Royal 8vo. Rs. 6-0.

Part III—*Period of Expansion*, pp. 831-1162. Royal 8vo. Rs. 5-0.

Part IV—*Period of Expansion*, pp. 1163-1479. Royal 8vo. Rs. 5-0.

Vol. III, *Modern Period*—Contains selections from the last period and a *glossary of archaic words with meanings*.

Part I—pp. 347. Royal 8vo. Rs. 5-0.

Part II—pp. 348-648. Royal 8vo. Rs. 6-0.

Selections from Hindi Literature, compiled by Rai Bahadur Lala Sita Ram, B.A., Sahityaratna, Hindi Sudhakar.

This work is divided into 6 books. Each book has an introduction in English and contains extracts from works of classical Hindi writers on the subject.

Extract from the Foreword to Vol. IV, by Mahamahopadhyay Dr. Ganganath Jha, M.A., D.Litt., LL.D.:—"The volume contains the section dealing with saints. Even the abstrusest teachings of the Vedanta are presented in a language so simple yet dignified that it appeals straight to the heart. The language of the teachings of Nanak and other Gurus is Hindi, pure and simple. The selections are.....judiciously made and intelligently arranged. The book will be found specially useful in our Universities."

Book I—Bardic Poetry—Contains extracts from the *Prithiraj Rasau* of Chand Bardai, the *Bisaldev Rasau* of Nalha, the *Birsingh-Charit* of Kesav Das, the *Sivraj Bhushana*, the *Siva Baoni* of Bhushan, the *Chhatra Prakash* of Gore Lal, the *Raj Bilas* of Man, the *Jang Nama* of Murlidhar, the *Hamir Rasau* of Jodh Raj, the *Sujan Charit* of Sudan, and the *Himmat Bahadur Birdavali* of Padmakar. This book was for a long time prescribed for the M.A. Examination in Hindi of the Allahabad and Benares Hindu Universities, the Uttama Examination of the Sahitya Sammelan and the Saraswati Examination of the Mahila Vidyapith, and is still prescribed in parts for the M.A. Examination of the Allahabad University. Royal 8vo pp. 351. Rs. 6-0.

Book II—The Krishna Cult—In this book the compiler has given extracts from the writings of the followers of Vallabhacharya including Sur Das and others commonly known as Asht Chhap, Nabhaji Gokul Nath, the oldest prose writer, and Dhruva Das. These writers have described loves of Krishna and Radha in a religious spirit and have nothing in common with ordinary writers of erotic poetry. No other book has yet been published in Hindi in which the curious reader may find the hymns of each of the Asht Chhap with notices of the authors. Royal 8vo pp. 383. Rs. 6-0.

Book III—Tulsi Das—whom Sir George Grierson calls the brightest star in the firmament of Indian Mediæval poetry 'stands unapproached and unapproachable in his niche in the Temple of Fame.' His works in extract have been set up in a book of their own with an introduction containing a short life of the poet and an account of his various works. Royal 8vo pp. 291. Rs. 6-0.

Book IV—With a learned Foreword by Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. Ganganath Jha, M.A., D.Litt., LL.D., Vice-Chancellor, University of Allahabad. The Saints—The extracts given in this book are from the teachings of nineteen great saints including Swami Ramanand, Kabir, Guru Nanak, Guru Teg Bahadur, Guru Govind Singh, and Mira Bai. Royal 8vo pp. 390. Rs. 6-0.

Book V—**Ars Poetica**—This book deals with the science of poetry and the extracts describe the various emotions and passions which constitute the essence of poetical compositions, to which Hindu writers have added fanciful classifications of women, technically called the *Nayika-bhed*. Royal 8vo pp. 275. Rs. 3-0.

Book VI, Part I—**Other Poets** (*with brief history of the Hindi Language*)—In this book extracts are given from the writings of Vidyapati, Malik Mohammad Jaisi, Kesava Das, Rahim, Raskhan, Mubarak, Usman, Senapati, Bihari Lal, Bhupati, and Sabal Singh Chauhan. Royal 8vo pp. 324. Rs. 3-0.

Book VI, Part II—**Other Poets**—Begins with a *History of the Hindi Literature* with an appendix containing notes on the Awadhi, the Braja Bhasha, the Punjabi, the Maithili, the Marwari, the Jain Hindi and the Urdu Literatures and gives extracts from the writings of 19 well-known Hindi writers ending with the great Haris Chandra of Benares. Royal 8vo pp. 406. Rs. 6-0.

Complete set (Books I-VI). Rs. 30-0.

"It is needless to say that selections made by this Master of Hindi are admirably done. We shall eagerly await the succeeding volumes for which as for these we are confident of an enthusiastic reception."—*The Hindustan Review*, for July, 1923.

***Matriculation Hindi Selections**, compiled by Rai Bahadur Lala Sita Ram, B.A., and Nalinimohan Sanyal, M.A. D/Crown 16mo pp. 290. Rs. 2.

***Intermediate Hindi Selections**, compiled by Rai Bahadur Lala Sita Ram, B.A., and Nalinimohan Sanyal, M.A. D/Crown 16mo pp. 345. Rs. 3.

Selections from Classical Gujarati Literature, Vol. I, by I. J. S. Taraporewala, B.A., Ph.D., Professor of Comparative Philology and Lecturer in Gujarati in the Calcutta University. Royal 8vo pp. 464. 1925. Rs. 5-0.

Do. Vol. II (16th and 17th Centuries). Royal 8vo pp. 684+xvi. Rs. 7-8.

4. CLASSICAL TEXTS

***Matriculation Arabic Selections**, compiled by Maulvi Muhammad Irfan, M.A. Royal 8vo pp. 80. Re. 1-12.

***Matriculation Persian Selections**, compiled by Aga Muhammad Kazim Shirazi. Royal 8vo pp. 97. Re. 1-12.

Matriculation Selections in Classical Tibetan, compiled by E. D. Ross. Royal 8vo pp. 100. Rs. 2-0.

***Matriculation Sanskrit Selections**, I (Prose), Crown 8vo pp. 122. Re. 1-0.

***Do.**, II (Poetry). Crown 8vo pp. 132. Re. 1-0.

***I.A. Arabic Selections**, compiled by Maulvi Muhammad Irfan, M.A. Royal 8vo pp. 98. Rs. 2-0.

***I.A. Persian Selections**, compiled by Aga Muhammad Kazim Shirazi. Royal 8vo pp. 145. Rs. 2-0.

***I.A. Sanskrit Selections**. Double Crown 16mo pp. 210. Rs. 2-4.

***B.A. Honours Arabic Selections**. Royal 8vo pp. 144. Rs. 2-8.

***B.A. Pass Arabic Selections**, compiled by Maulvi Md. Irfan, M.A. Royal 8vo pp. 75. Re. 1-8.

***B.A. Honours Persian Course**. Royal 8vo pp. 314. Rs. 2-8.

***B.A. Pass Persian Selections**, compiled by Aga Muhammad Kazim Shirazi. Royal 8vo pp. 245. Rs. 2-0.

* **Text-Book.**

M.A. Persian Course. Demy 8vo pp. 225. Rs. 2-8.

Gowhar-i-Murad, edited by Aga Muhammad Kazim Shirazi. Royal 8vo pp. 120. Rs. 3.

It is a prose selection compiled and edited by Aga Muhammad Kazim Shirazi, being a text-book prescribed for the M.A. Examination of the Calcutta University in Persian. *Gowhar-i-Murad* is a well known treatise on Islamic Science of Religion and Theology, by Abdur Razzaq bin Ali bin Husain Lahiji, who dedicated this work to Abbas II, a prince of the Safavi dynasty.

Diwan-i-Nasir-i-Khusraw, edited by Aga Muhammad Kazim Shirazi. Royal 8vo pp. 77. Rs. 2.

It is a selection compiled and edited by Aga Muhammad Kazim Shirazi for the M.A. Examination of the Calcutta University. *Nasir-i Khusraw* was a poet, philosopher, traveller and Isma'ili propagandist. His religious and philosophical views are abundantly illustrated and form the main subject of his verse. His language is plain and simple but archaic and his thoughts are deep and reflective.

Prakrit Dhammapada, by B. M. Barua, M.A. (Cal.), D.Lit. (Lond.), and S. N. Mitra, M.A. Demy 8vo pp. 322. Rs. 5.

A new edition of the Dutreuil de Rhins Kharoshthi MS. of the *Dhammapada*, of which an edition was published in the *Journal Asiatique* in 1897 by M. S  nart. The joint-editors have reconstructed whole passages from minute fragments not utilised by M. S  nart, and they have brought in the results of their vast and deep Pali studies in establishing the text. The importance of the *Dhammapada* as a world classic need not be emphasised too much. In the introductory essay, there is an able study of the question of the literary history of this work.

5. TIBETAN

She-rab-dong-bu, by Major W. L. Campbell, C.I.E. Royal 8vo pp. 137. Rs. 6-12.

Tree of Wisdom—a metrical translation in Tibetan of a Sanskrit ethical work entitled *Prajna-danda* written by Nagarjuna. The present publication is an English version of the Tibetan work, the text and the translation being printed on opposite pages.

Matriculation Selections in Classical Tibetan, compiled by E. D. Ross. Royal 8vo pp. 100. Rs. 2-0.

6. ENGLISH TEXTS, &c.

***Selections from the Bible**, Part I. Crown 8vo pp. 498. Rs. 2-8.

***Do.**, Part II. Crown 8vo pp. 191. Re: 1-2.

***Do.**, Part III. Crown 8vo pp. 489. Rs. 2-8.

***Do.**, Part IV. Crown 8vo pp. 294. Rs. 2-8.

Shakespeare's Comedy of Errors, edited by Rev. J. C. Scrimgeour, M.A. Crown 8vo pp. 187. Re. 1-4.

Ben Jonson's Volpone or the Fox. Re. 1-0.

Syllabus of Poetics, by Prof. H. Stephen, M.A., D.D., Ph.D. (*Second Edition, revised and considerably enlarged.*) Demy 8vo pp. 294. 1927. Rs. 3.

This book points out the fundamental ideas regarding poetry contained in the works of Wordsworth, Coleridge, Shelley, and Aristotle, and expands, explains and applies them to some extent, with a view to helping students to think out the subject for themselves.

Studies in Spenser, by Mchinimohan Bhattacharyya, M.A., B.L. Demy 8vo pp. 98. Re. 1-8.

On the Poetry of Matthew Arnold, Robert Browning and Rabindranath Tagore, by A. C. Aikat, M.A. Royal 8vo pp. 346. Rs. 7-8.

This book embodies a series of lectures on the writings of these three poets, and a comparative review of their works.

Othello, the Moor of Venice. Edited by Rev. J. C. Scrimgeour, M.A. Crown 8vo pp. 281. Rs. 2-0.

***Lahiri's Select Poems**. Crown 8vo pp. 205. Re. 1-8.

***Select Readings from English Prose**. Crown 8vo pp. 382. Re. 1-12.

* Text-Book.

Selections from W. Irving. Crown 8vo pp. 331. Re. 1-12.

• ***Intermediate Prose Selections.** Crown 8vo pp. 412.
Rs. 3-0.

• ***Intermediate Poetical Selections.** Crown 8vo pp. 360.
Rs. 3-0.

• ***A Book of Essays.** Crown 8vo pp. 263.

VIII. MATHEMATICS

† **Matrices and Determinoids, Vol. I** (*Readership Lectures delivered at the Calcutta University*), by C. E. Cullis, M.A., Ph.D., D.Sc. Sup. Royal 8vo pp. 442. 1913.
English price 24s. net.

<i>Contents:</i> —Chap.	I—Introduction of Rectangular Matrices and Determinoids.
„	II—Affects of the Elements and Derived Products of a Matrix or Determinoid.
„	III—Sequences and the Affects of Derived Sequences.
„	IV—Affects of Derived Matrices and Derived Determinoids.
„	V—Expansions of a Determinoid.
„	VI—Properties of a Product formed by a Chain of Matrix Factors.
„	VII—Determinoid of a Product formed by Chain of Matrix Factors.
„	VIII—Matrices of Minor Determinoids.
„	IX—Rank of a Matrix and Connections between the Rows of a Matrix.
„	X—Matrix Equations of the First Degree.
„	XI—Solution of Any System of Linear Algebraic Equations.

* Text-Book.

† The right of publication of this book is held by the Cambridge University Press (Fetter Lane, London, E. C. 4) on behalf of the Calcutta University and copies may be had of the firm.

Prof. Cullis will earn the gratitude of mathematical students for affording them the opportunity of obtaining a right perspective of an important branch of pure mathematics, whose developments so far have appeared in scattered notes and memoirs not always easy of access. Examples are abundant and, while a large number of them are illustrative, there is a good collection of suggestive exercises indicating the directions in which further original work may be done.—*The Journal of Education*.

The chief feature of this book is that it deals with rectangular matrices and determinoids as distinguished from square matrices and determinants, the determinoid of a rectangular matrix being related to it just as a determinant is related to a square matrix. The author endeavours to set forth a complete theory of these two subjects, and uses the first volume to give the most fundamental portions of the theory. Two more volumes are promised, the second to give the more advanced portions of the theory, and the third its applications.

This is new ground and the author has done a splendid piece of work and with the publishers deserves much credit.—*Mathematical Teacher* (Syracuse, U. S. A.).

***Matrices and Determinoids, Vol. II. Sup. Royal 8vo**
pp. 573. 1918. *English price 42s. net.*

<i>Contents</i> :—Chap.	XII—Compound Matrices.
„	XIII—Relations between the Elements and Minor Departments of a Matrix.
„	XIV—Some Properties of Square Matrices.
„	XV—Ranks of Matrix Products and Matrix Factors.
„	XVI—Equigradent Transformations of a Matrix whose Elements are Constants.
„	XVII—Some Matrix Equations of the Second Degree.
„	XVIII—The Extravagances of Matrices and of Spacelets in Homogeneous Space.
„	XIX—The Paratomy and Orthotomy of Two Matrices and of Two Spacelets of Homogeneous Space.

The outstanding feature of the work, which the author properly emphasises, is the detailed discussion of rectangular, as distinguished from square, matrices. For this reason alone the work ought to give a great stimulus to the subject, and we hope that the publication of the whole treatise

* The right of publication of this book is held by the Cambridge University Press (Fetter Lane, London, E. C. 4) on behalf of the Calcutta University and copies of the book may be had of the firm.

will not be long delayed. Until it is finished, it will be difficult, if not impossible, to give a proper appreciation of it, especially as the author introduces so many new symbols and technical terms. One thing however, is certain; we now have the outlines of a calculus of matrices in which the operations of addition, subtraction, and multiplication are definite.—*Nature*.

The present volume worthily maintains the traditions of the Cambridge University Press, and is a most valuable addition to the rapidly growing series of volumes for which the Readership at the University of Calcutta is responsible.—*Science Progress*.

* **Matrices and Determinoids**, Vol. III, Part I, Royal 8vo pp. xx + 682. 1926. *English price* £3 3s. *net*. *Indian price* Rs. 45.

Contents:—Chap. XX—The Irresoluble and Irreducible Factors of Rational Integral Functions.
 „ XXI—Resultants and Eliminants of Rational Integral Functions and Equations.
 „ XXII—Symmetric Functions of the Elements of Similar Sequences.
 „ XXIII—The Potent Divisors of a Rational Integral Functional Matrix.
 „ XXIV—Equipotent Transformations of Rational Integral Functional Matrices.
 „ XXV—Rational Integral Functions of a Square Matrix.
 „ XXVI—Equimutant Transformations of a Square Matrix whose Elements are Constants.
 „ XXVII—Commutants.
 „ XXVIII—Commutants of Commutants.
 „ XXIX—Invariant Transformands.
 Appendices.

* **Chapters on Algebra** (being the First Three Chapters of **Matrices and Determinoids**, Vol. III), by C. E. Cullis, M.A., Ph.D., D.Sc. Sup. Royal 8vo pp. 191. 1920. Rs. 11-4.

This volume deals with rational integral functions of several scalar variables as also with functional matrices.

* *The right of publication of this book is held by the Cambridge University Press (Fetter Lane, London, E. C. 4) on behalf of the Calcutta University and copies of the book may be had of the firm.*

- *Functions of Two Variables**, by A. R. Forsyth, F.R.S.
Sup. Royal 8vo pp. 300. 1914. Rs. 11-4.

The author's purpose is to deal with a selection of principles and generalities that belong to the initial stages of the theory of functions of two complex variables. The consideration of relations between independent variables and dependent variables has been made more complete with illustrations in this publication.

- Analytical Geometry of Hyper-spaces**, Part I (*Premchand Roychand Studentship thesis, 1914*), by Surendramohan Gangopadhyay, D.Sc. Demy 8vo pp. 93. 1918.
Re. 1-14.

- Do.**, II. Demy 8vo pp. 121. 1922. Rs. 3-12.

It deals with certain interesting problems in n -dimensional Geometry, the method adopted being one of deduction from first principles. The second part contains certain interesting results in the Geometry of Hyper-spaces, which is now recognised as an indispensable part of the science with extensive applications in mathematical Physics. In the treatment of subject-matter, the easiest possible methods have been adopted, so that the discussions can be followed by an ordinary student of Mathematics without a knowledge of Higher Mathematics.

- Theory of Higher Plane Curves**, Vol. I, by Surendramohan Gangopadhyay, D.Sc. *Third Edition, thoroughly revised and enlarged*. Demy 8vo pp. 396 + xxi. 1931.
Rs. 6-8.

The work is designed to meet the Syllabus prescribed by the University for the Master's Degree and is intended as an introductory course suitable for students of Higher Geometry. The present volume which is a thoroughly revised and enlarged edition of the earlier includes new materials together with recent researches which will not only be of use to the students for the Master's course but will also encourage independent thinking in students of higher studies engaged in research work.

- Theory of Higher Plane Curves**, Vol. II, by Surendramohan Gangopadhyay, D.Sc. (*Second Edition, thoroughly re-*

* The right of publication of this book is held by the Cambridge University Press (Fetter Lane, London, E. C. 4) on behalf of the Calcutta University and copies may be had of the firm.

vised and enlarged.) Demy 8vo pp. 408. 1926.
Rs. 4-8.

This Volume deals with the application of the theory in studying properties of cubic and quartic curves.

This volume is an endeavour to give as complete an account of the properties of cubic and quartic curves as could be compressed within the limits of a single volume of moderate size, confining the discussion to the prominent characteristics of these curves. The subject has been presented in clear and concise form to students commencing a systematic study of the higher curves, indicating references to original sources as far as practicable. It is very useful to students of higher plane curves.

Parametric Co-efficient (*Griffith Memorial Prize, 1910*), by Prof. Syamadas Mukhopadhyay, M.A., Ph.D. Demy 8vo pp. 31. Rs. 3-0.

Collected Geometrical Papers, by Prof. Syamadas Mukhopadhyay, M.A., Ph.D. Crown 4to pp. viii+158. Rs. 4-0.

Part II. Crown 4to pp. vi+137. Rs. 3-8.

Professor J. Hadamard, Paris: "My interest in your *new methods in the geometry of a plane arc*, which I had expressed in 1909 in an (anonymous) note in the *revue generale des sciences*, has far from diminished since that time.

Precisely at my seminaire or colloquium of the college de France, we have reviewed such subjects and all my auditors and colleagues have been keenly interested in your way of researches which we all consider as one of the most important roads opened to Mathematical Science."

Professor F. Engel, Geissen: "I am surprized over the beautiful new calculations on the right-angled triangles and three-right-angled quadrilaterals (in hyperbolic geometry).....Your analogies in the Gaussian Pentagramma Mirificum are highly remarkable."

Professor W. Blaschke, Hamburg: "I am much obliged to you for your kind sending of your beautiful geometrical work. When, as I hope, a new edition of my *Differential Geometry* comes out, I shall not forget to mention that you were the first to give the beautiful theorems on the numbers of Cyclic and Sextactic points on an oval."

Prof. Blaschke has quoted S. Mukhopadhyaya in the third edition (1930) of the first volume of his classical work on *Differential Geometry*.

Professor A. R. Forsyth, London: The first part of your collected geometrical papers is an attractive record of fine mathematical attainment: and I am glad to learn, not only of the manifest advances you have made in our science, but also of the stimulus your work has afforded to other investigators I can offer you no better wish and suggest no prouder aim than continual success in your Researches.

Agents for Sale of University Publications

For sale outside India

MESSRS. LONGMANS, GREEN & Co., LTD.

London House—39, PATERNOSTER ROW, LONDON, E.C. 4.

American House—55, FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK.

For sale in India

Calcutta—(1) MESSRS. CHUCKERVERTY, CHATTERJEE & Co., LTD.,
15, COLLEGE SQUARE.

(2) „ THE KAMALA BOOK DEPOT, LTD.,
15, COLLEGE SQUARE.

(3) „ THE BOOK COMPANY, LTD.,
4/4A, COLLEGE SQUARE

(4) „ SEN, RAY & Co.,
15, COLLEGE SQUARE.

(5) „ THACKER, SPINK & Co.,
3, ESPLANADE, EAST.

Bombay—(1) MESSRS. D. B. TARAPOREWALA, SONS & Co.,
KITAB MAHAL, 190, HORNBY ROAD, FORT.

(2) „ THE POPULAR BOOK DEPOT,
GRANT ROAD.

(3) „ THACKER & Co.

Poona City—(1) MESSRS. THE S. P. BOOKSTALL,
15, BUDHWAR PETH.

(2) „ RAMKRISHNA BROS.,
OPPOSITE VISRAMBAG.

(3) „ INTERNATIONAL BOOK SERVICE.

Madras—(1) MESSRS. B. G. PAUL & Co.,
2, FRANCIS JOSEPH STREET.

(2) „ HIGGINBOTHAMS,
POST BOX 311, MOUNT ROAD.

(3) „ ROCHOUSE & SONS,
22, BAKER STREET.

(4) „ CITY BOOK Co.,
POST BOX 283, MYLAPORE.

(5) „ THE BOOKLOVERS' RESORT.

Delhi—MESSRS. THE OXFORD & STATIONERY Co.,
KASHMIR GATE.

Lahore—THE PROPRIETORS, THE PANJAB SANSKRIT BOOK DEPOT,
SAIDMITHA STREET.

Lucknow—GANGA PUSTAKMALA KARYALAYA,
23-25, LA TOUCH ROAD.

Patna—BHARATI PUBLISHERS, LTD.,
BANKIPORE

THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

The Oldest and Best Cultural Paper in India

Illustrated Monthly

PUBLISHED BY THE CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY

This illustrated monthly is the oldest and the best cultural paper in India. It contains the finest selections of articles of general interest treating of Literature, Poetry, Short Stories, Indian History, Economics, Religion, Folk-lore, Purāṇas, Philosophy, Education, Archaeology, Numismatics, Sociology, Epigraphy, Anthropology, Ethnology, Chemistry, Physics, Agriculture, Aryan Languages, etc. It is undoubtedly the best Oriental paper for the variety and quantity of information that it presents couched in a brilliant style and is very useful to students and scholars alike. Annual subscription for India Rs. 8-8. Foreign 16 Shillings. Always comes out on the 1st of every month. Each issue contains 130-140 pages.

Here is a short list of *some* of the articles that were published in the *Review* recently :

Literature and Languages.

1. England in Contemporary English Literature.
2. Development of Negro Poetry.
3. The Poetry of William Butler Yeats.
4. The Philosophy of Shelley!
5. Robert Bridges!
6. Stories of Edgar Allan Poe.

7. Milton's "Satan."
8. The Moral Order in the Shakespearian Tragedy.
9. Henrik Ibsen.
10. Sinclair Lewis.
11. Thomas Hardy.
12. George Meredith.
13. Charles Lamb.
14. English Poetic Diction, 1579-1830
15. Essays on Chaucer.
16. Lyrics from Elizabethan Dramatists.
17. The East in English Literature.
18. What is Poetry ?
19. Italian Literature.
20. King Lear.
21. Shakespeare's Sonnets : First Interpretation.
22. The Art of Maeterlinck.
23. The Dialogue as an Instrument of Literary Criticism.
24. Robert Burns's Treatment of the Supernatural.
25. Sir William Browne and his Britannia Pastorals.
26. Coleridge's Supernaturalism.
27. Old and Mediaeval Bengali Literature.
28. Sir William Watson.
29. Ugo Foscolo.
30. The Text of Shakespeare.
31. A Glimpse into the Literature of Asia.
32. Maeterlinck—the Dramatist.
31. Landor and Rose Aylmer.
32. The Beginnings of Bengali Prose.
33. Letters of Miss Florence Nightingale.
34. John Galsworthy.
35. Western Influence in Oriya Literature.
36. The Spirit of Italian Literature.
37. Aspects of Bengali Songs.
38. Poets of the Chandi Cult.
39. Prose Style.

40. A German Invader of the English Stage.
41. The Red Oleanders.
42. The Character of Hamlet.
43. The Principles of Criticism as Applied to Poetry.
44. Rabindranath and Bergson.
45. The Bengali Theatre.
46. Classical and Romantic in Literature.
47. Development of Hindi Literature.
48. The Poetry of Rabindranath Tagore.
49. Lafcadio Hearn.
50. Origin of Indian Drama.
51. Some Little Songs of India,
52. Rabindranath's Festival.
53. The *Jatras* in Bengal.
54. Gitanjali.
55. Some Aspects of Oriental Poetry.
56. Swift as a Political Pamphleteer.
57. Asiatic Literature in Ancient India.
58. Early English Theatre and the Bengali Drama.
59. The Poetry of Aurobindo Ghose.
60. Early History of the Bengali Stage.
61. Lessing's Fables.
62. Ancient Indian Ballad Poetry.
63. Rabindranath Tagore and the Rain Festival.
64. E. J. Thompson's Poetry.
65. Poems of Yone Noguchi.
66. The Poetry of Umar Khayyam.
67. Some Tendencies of Modern English Poetry

Archæology, Art and Culture.

1. Indo-Persian Architecture.
2. Music and Musicians.
3. Beethoven at Home.

4. Hindu Religious Festivals and their Music.
5. The Expressiveness of Indian Art.
6. Contact of Indian Art with the Art of Other Civilisations.
7. Carpet-Weaving.
8. Brahms and His Music.
9. The True Artist and his Art.
10. Culture : its Import and value.
11. Realism and Humour in Music.
12. An Essay on Laughter.
13. India—Centre of Hindu Art and Culture.
14. Some Aspects of Inspiration in Music and Poetry.
15. The Study of History and Research.
16. The Religion of Harmony.
17. An Introduction to the Study of Scottish Architecture.
18. Grammar and its Critics.
19. Cultivation of Pure Art in Modern Germany.
20. German Culture of the Present Age.
21. Modernism in Spiritual Culture.
22. Amaravati School of Sculpture
23. The Art of Sarat Chandra Chatterji.
24. Indian Literature and World Literature.
25. The Art of Wood-Engraving.
26. The Philosophy of Beauty.
27. Beauty in India.
28. What is Rhythm?
29. History and Literature.
30. Feminity in Letters.
31. Music and the Hindu Pantheon.
32. Some Popular Indian Instruments.

Economics, Politics and Sociology.

1. Britons and Bengalis.
2. Germany, Ten Years after the World-War.
3. The New Germany and the Future.

4. Germany's Foreign Trade.
5. Germany since Versailles.
- ~~6. Conditions of Economic Activity in Germany.~~
7. Economic Conditions in Modern Germany.
8. India in the Eyes of Europe.
9. Indian Nationalisation and Bolshevism.
10. Gandhi and Machinery.
11. Anglo-American Relations and India.
12. Present Tendency of Turkish Foreign Policy.
13. British Policy in Turkey.
14. British Imperialism in India.
15. History of Taxation of Salt under the Rule of the East India Company.
16. India and the British Commonwealth of Nations.
17. India and the League of Nations.
18. Purchase of Sterling.
19. Nehru Committee's Report.
20. High Price of Food Grains in India.
21. Early Bank Note Issues and their Lessons.
22. Transferability of Occupancy-Holdings in Bengal.
23. The Present-day Dominion Status.
24. The Republic of China.
25. The Problem of Indian National Defence.
26. Why America has become so great ?
27. The Future Outlook of the Indian Joint Stock Banks.
28. Study of Indian Currency.
29. Instalment Credit System in America.
30. The Bengal Land-holder—Subdivision, Fragmentation and Sub-infeudation.
31. The Indian States, Mints and Coinage.
32. Problem of a Second Chamber in India.
33. Indian Railways, 1925-1928.
34. A Bird's-eye View of Dutch Railways.
35. Report of the Indian States Committee.
36. Municipal and Central Government.

37. The Calamity of Chronic Unemployment.
38. The Crown and the British Commonwealth of Nations.
39. Banks in relation to Industrial Financing.
40. The Indian Federation—How the Picture should be completed.
41. Salt Industry in Bengal in the Nineteenth Century.
42. The Present Economic Depression.
43. The Future Constitution of India.
44. Absenteeism and Migration in Indian Labour.
45. Agricultural Policy in Russia from 1861 to 1920.
46. Indian Currency of the Hindu Period.
47. Nationalisation.
48. Progress of Banking in India.
49. India's Political Crisis.
50. Banker's Bank for India.
51. E. I. Co.'s Trade in Bengal in the Time of Allivardi.
52. The Future of Indian Finance.
53. Federalism.
54. The Future of our Foreign Exchange Banks.
55. Problems of Modern Democracy.
56. Pluralistic Attack on the Classic Conception of Sovereignty.
57. The Popular Control of the Purse.
58. Indian Joint Stock Banks.
59. Economic Tendencies in India.
60. Danger-spots in World Population.
61. The Inland Bills of Exchange.
62. The Status of the Indian Princes.
63. Anglo-Russian Rivalry menaces World-Peace.
64. British Far-East Dominion Policies.
65. South African Diplomacy and India.
66. Indians in South Africa and the Danger of False Optimism.
67. The Value of Juristic Political Philosophy.
68. Foreign Exchange of Indian Banks.
69. The Revolutionary Spirit in Bengal.
70. Evolution of Types of States in Ancient India.

71. Some Currency Lessons of the War.
72. Parliamentary Privilege.
73. Types of Indian States.
74. The Average Income of India.
75. Railway Finance and Railway Organisation.
76. Peasant Proprietorship in India.
77. Has India a Constitution ?
78. Steel Development in India.
79. Stateless Persons in U. S. A.
80. The Fiscal System of India.
81. A Plea for Banking Legislation in India.
82. Banking in the Days of John Company.

Biography, History and Purānas.

1. A Chapter of Personal History of Raja Rāmmohan Roy.
2. A Lost Page of History.
3. A Page from the Past (Life of Pearychand Mitter).
4. Two Savants.
5. Life of the Celebrated Sevagy.
6. Slavery in Ancient India.
7. History of Independence in the British Colonies of North America.
8. The Fascist Movement in Italy.
9. The Regulating Act of 1773.
10. The Making of a Nation.
11. Indian Nationalism and Bolshevism.
12. Influence of Fascism on Italian Youth.
13. The Permanent Settlement in Bengal and the Loss to the Exchequer.
14. Was the British Empire of India the Result of Design ?
15. Itihāsa-Purāna.
16. Popular Elements in the Purānas.
17. The Expansion of the Indo-Aryans.
18. Paundra Vardhana to Karna Subarna.

19. Sir Asuh Mookerjee.
20. A Chapter from the French Revolution.
21. The Decline of the Early Gupta Empire.
22. Nepal's Relations with the Outer World.
23. Kingship in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa in Ancient Times.
24. Pre-Aryan Elements in Hinduism.
25. Administration of Justice by the Sultans of Delhi during the Pre-Moghul Period.
26. Ali Ibrahim Khan.
27. Human Geography of the Ganges Plain.
28. Financial Proposals in the Simon Report.
29. Nepal's Relations with the Outer World.
30. Original Nature of Jātakas.
31. Position of Women in Bengal in the Eighteenth Century.
32. A Critical Study of the Layton Report.
33. The Republic of China.
34. The Portuguese Colonial Crisis.
35. The Serampore Pioneers and their Claims to Remembrance.
36. Ranjit Singh and the British Government.
37. Chohan Supremacy in Orissa.
38. Espionage in the Hindu System of Administration.
39. Greater India.
40. The Russian Situation.
41. Mohammad Reza Khan and his Trials.
42. The Judiciary in the Middle Ages.
43. Some Features of Hooghly in the Early Company Days.
44. The Origin and Character of Islamic Civilisation.
45. Ancient Arabia.
46. The New World of Islam.
47. Arabia before Islam.
48. Family Life among the Arabs.
49. Portugal and Spain.
50. Eminent Women of India during the Middle Ages.
51. Emperors of Japan.

52. The Historicity of Hindu Mythology.
53. The Age of the Veda.
54. Early Revenue History of Bengal (1757-1772).
55. Homicide and its Punishment in Mediaeval Times.
56. The East India Company—its Origin and Growth.
57. Inter-relation of the Two Epics of Ancient India.
58. Governmental Ideals in Ancient India.
59. Rigvedic History and Vedic Scholars.
60. Saracenic Commerce and Industry.
61. Ornithology in India
62. Akbar and Ranthambore.
63. Hinduism and Muhammadan Heretics during the Pathan Period.
64. The Early Indian Visitors to England.
65. The Chinese Tangle : its Solution.
66. Glimpses into the Court of Sardhana.
67. The House of Holkar.
68. The Kautilya Arthasāstra.
69. Bhāsa.
70. Mohammed : the Prophet of God.

Philosophy.

1. Influence of Indian Thought on German Philosophy.
2. German Thought of To-day.
3. August Strindberg.
4. Place of Bradley in British Thought.
5. Bradley from the Standpoint of Samkara Vedanta.
6. Rosencranz, the Philosopher.
7. Plato and Plotinus on God.
8. The Absolute Self.
9. The March of the History of Philosophy.
10. The Scientific Basis of Monadism.
11. The Way to Hindu Solidarity.

12. The Idealism of the School of Dignaga.
13. The Problem of Puruṣottama in the Gītā.
14. Prasangānumāna.
15. The Ethical Basis of Philosophy.
16. Hume's Theory of Relations.
17. Locke's Theory of Relations.
18. Kṣaṇabhangavāda.
19. The Doctrine of the Concrete Universal.
20. Śaṅkara on the Nature of the Subject.
21. Jayanta Bhatta—Author of the Nyaya Manjari.
22. Śaṅkara on Vivartavāda.
23. Correction of Error as a Logical Process.
24. Dr. Haldane on the Immortality of the Individual.
25. Towards the Systematic Study of Vedanta.
26. The Church Invisible.
27. The Sense of the Incomplete.
28. On Modernising Spinoza.
29. Is Freud a Psychologist?
30. The Literature of Hope and Engineers of a New Renaissance.
31. Rabindranath Tagore and Bergson.
32. The Philosophy of Our People.
33. The Search for a Philosophy in the Last Half Century.
34. Pascal's Philosophy of Life.
35. The Message of Gita.
36. Immanuel Kant : His Problem and his Solution.
37. Indian Philosophy.
38. Idealism and the Self.

Religion.

1. Jainism : its Historical Importance and its Relations to Other Religions of the World.
2. The Social Atmosphere of Present Jainism.
3. Individual and Society in Jainism.

4. Early Life of Buddha.
5. Bodh-Gayā from the Hindu Point of View.
6. How did Jesus interpret Himself ?
7. Brahmanism, Monasticism and Buddhism.
8. The Date of Zoroaster.
9. The Composition of the Gathas.
10. Rebirth in the Pali Scriptures.
11. The Avestan Gathas.
12. Kindred Sayings in Buddhism.
13. Rigveda, the Only True Veda.
14. Brahmanism in the " Smritis."
15. The Ethical Theism of Ramanuja.
16. Rigvedic History and Vedic Scholars.
17. The Antiquity of Rigvedic Culture.
18. The Founders of Vedic Idealism.
19. Buddha of History.
20. The Pantheistic Aspect of Christianity.
21. Mohammad.
22. The Charm of Buddhist Literature.
23. Revival of Brahmanism and Buddhism.
24. The Place of Tradition in Religious Life.

Science, Education and Agriculture.

1. System of Education in Germany with Special Reference to the Study of Oriental Languages.
2. Medical Education in Germany.
3. Education does not Pay.
4. Whom should we educate?
5. The Character of the Teacher.
6. Costs of Vocational Training.
7. Vocational Instruction.
8. Educational Administration.
9. Examinations.
10. Technical Education in India.

11. Technical Education in England.
12. Regeneration of Rural Bengal.
13. Agriculture in Old Bengal.
14. Co-operation in Agriculture and Cottage Industries.
15. Fifty-eight Years' Fight with Malaria.
16. New Concepts of Matter and Radiation.
17. Wireless and its Possibilities.
18. Concept of Law.
19. Law and Morals.
20. Law and the other Sciences.
21. The Problem of Secondary Education in Bengal.
22. The University and the Future.
23. University Education in Bengal.
24. Mathematics and Literature.
25. Mathematics and Agriculture.
26. Mathematics and Education.
27. Mathematics and the Sciences
28. Mathematics and History.
29. Cottage Industry.
30. Dream and Telepathy.
31. The Bengali Brain and Education.
32. Education as a Channel of Western Influence in Bengal.
33. Education and Politics.
34. Ancient Indian Life.

Miscellaneous.

1. Parasnath, the Sacred Mountain.
2. Source of the Brahmaputra.
3. Indus.
4. Andhra University Convocation Addresses.
5. Madras University Convocation Addresses.
6. Bombay University Convocation Addresses.
7. Dacca University Convocation Addresses.
8. Calcutta University Convocation Addresses.

9. An Arctic Voyage: North Spitz.enerbg
10. Juvenile Offenders in Calcutta.
11. One Capital Punishment.
12. Some Significant Indian Animals.

Short Stories and Poems.

etc., etc., etc.

For other particulars apply to :

- THE MANAGER, "CALCUTTA REVIEW,"
Senate House, Calcutta.